

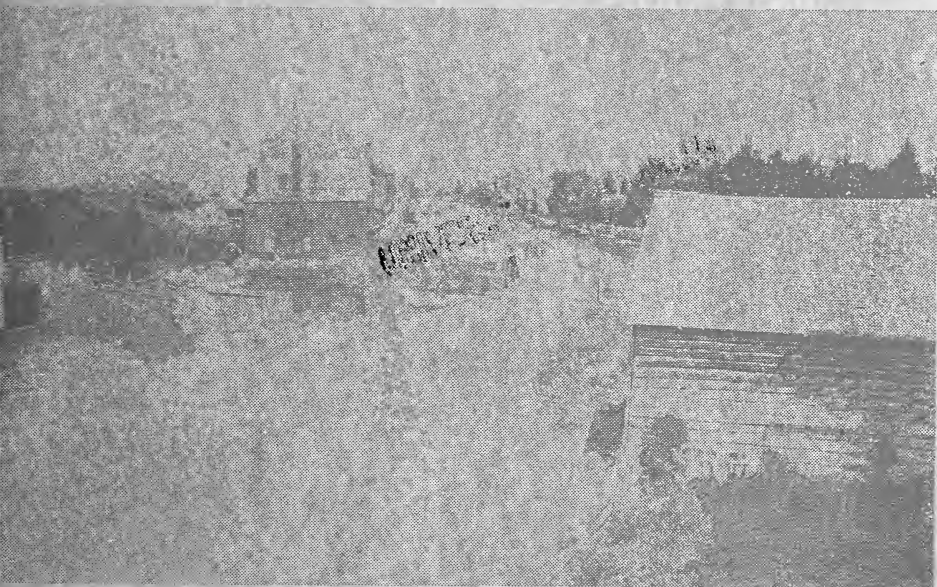
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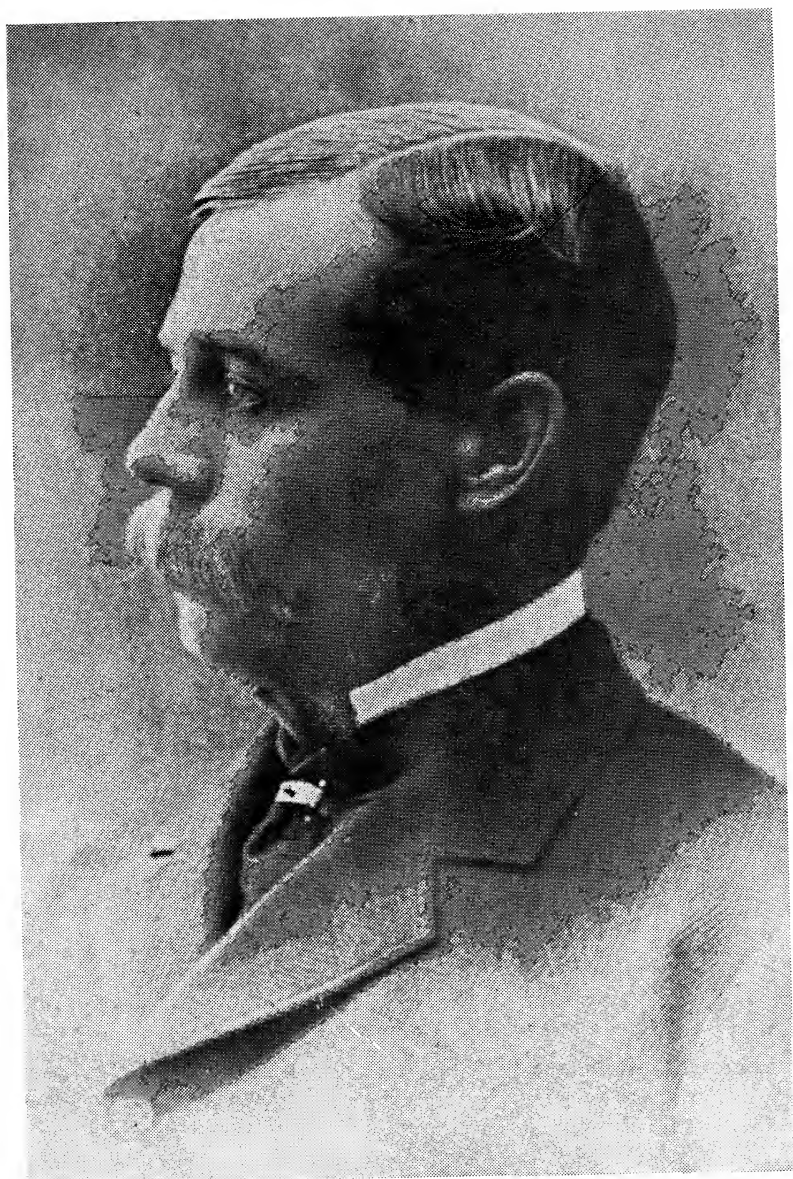
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Francis Emroy Warren

The Congressional Career of Senator Francis E. Warren from 1890 to 1902

By ANNE CAROLYN HANSEN*

Chapter I

WARREN'S EARLY YEARS IN WYOMING

The story of the early years of Francis Emroy Warren in Wyoming is intimately connected with the history of the economic and political development of the state and particularly of Cheyenne, the capital of the so-called Cattle Kingdom. Warren came to Cheyenne in 1868 when the little cattle town was the "end of the track" of the advancing Union Pacific railhead. Years later Warren thus described his first impression of Cheyenne:

Cheyenne was then a city of shanties and tents, camps and covered wagons. The people were migratory. The railroad having built further on, everyone was discussing the probability of a permanent town, and the prevailing idea seemed to be, that in six months hardly a stake would be left to mark the location of Cheyenne . . . There was then not a graded street, ditch, sewer or crossing in the town—nothing but a lot of tents and shanties, dropped down or thrown together on the bare prairie, covering space enough, perhaps, to make a large city.¹

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¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1917. This article gives a sketch of Warren's life and career. It is preserved in the Warren Collection in the University of Wyoming Library.

At the time of Warren's arrival in Wyoming the cattle industry, which was to assume such dominance in the economic life of the state, was already on the point of rapid expansion. The building of the railroad had expanded the market for the cattlemen who previously had been dependent on mining camps and military posts for the sale of their beef. Not only did the construction workers and the inhabitants of the ephemeral railroad town provide a local market for beef, but the railroad meant a means of shipping stock to eastern markets. In the seventies, herds of Texas long-horns stocked the Western Plains. In *The Day of the Cattleman*, Osgood presents this table to illustrate the increasing number of cattle shipped from Wyoming ranches in the seventies;²

Year	Carloads
1873	286
1874	738
1875	975
1876	1,344
1877	1,649

Cheyenne, the capital of the new territory of Wyoming, was the headquarters of the cattle business and the center of the large supply trade being conducted with the range country. By 1890, when Warren became the first governor of the newly created state of Wyoming, Cheyenne had a population of over eleven thousand.

Warren was born in Hinsdale, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1844, the son of hard working New England farmers, descendants of Arthur Warren who emigrated from England about 1635. At the age of fifteen he left home to work on a neighboring farm. Later he became foreman of a dairy farm, and by means of the wages he saved, he succeeded in securing for himself two years of study at Hinsdale Academy. Warren was seventeen years old at the time the Civil War began, and in the following year, on September 11, 1862, he enlisted in Company C of the 49th Massachusetts Infantry. By the next spring he was advanced to the rank of corporal. At Port Hudson, Louisiana, he was one of a group of volunteers sent ahead to carry timber and fascines to fill up a ditch in front of the earth works of the fort, so that the artillery and other troops might cross for a storming attack. The mission was a dangerous one, and although many of his comrades were killed,

²Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), p. 51.

Warren escaped with a scalp wound. For this act of bravery Warren was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.³

Warren was honorably discharged from the army at the close of the war and he returned to his home in Hinsdale where he resumed his former occupation of farming. Here he remained until the spring of 1868 when he went west to Des Moines, Iowa, to accept a position as foreman of a construction crew on the Rock Island railroad line. He had been working in Iowa for several weeks when he received a letter from A. R. Converse, a former resident of Hinsdale, who had a mercantile business in Cheyenne. Converse was ill and begged Warren to come to Cheyenne to help him in managing his business. In accordance with the wishes of his friend, Warren left Iowa and arrived in Cheyenne in May 1868.

Warren soon became interested in almost every phase of the economic development of Cheyenne. In 1878 he acquired the stock and mercantile interests of Converse, and in 1883 the Warren Mercantile Company was organized. His real estate interests included the building of the Warren block, the First National Bank Building, the Commercial Building, the Union Block, Phoenix Block, and the station of the Cheyenne and Burlington Railroad. Some idea of Warren's early investments in Wyoming may be gained from this partial list of stock holdings:

Date of Purchase	Number Shares
1881 Keystone Gold Mining and Milling	250
1883 Cheyenne Carriage Company	20
1885 Crow Creek Ditch Company	38
1885 Cheyenne Messenger and Telegraph Company	25
1888 W. Va. and Wyo. Petroleum and Natural Gas Company	100
1889 Cheyenne Investment Company	100
1889 Wyoming Phonograph Company	250
1893 Cheyenne Street Railway Company	528
Cheyenne Opera House and Library Company	400

³In May 1892, Senator Hale introduced in the Senate a bill to authorize the Secretary of War to issue medals of honor to the survivors of the Port Hudson storming party of June 15, 1863. Warren, now United States Senator from Wyoming, offered an amendment to include the survivors of the Port Hudson storming party of May 25, 1863 of which he had been a member. Senator Cockrell objected because, he said, the latter were already provided for under the statutes. Warren's amendment was rejected by the Senate. *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., May 23, 1892, p. 4541. In 1916 Warren received a certificate entitling him to a pension of twenty-nine dollars a month. After June 30, 1919, he was entitled to receive thirty-two dollars and fifty cents a month. Pension certificate No. 1,171,725. Warren Collection.

The Cheyenne Investment Company, which was incorporated in 1889 with Warren as one of the trustees, had a charter which gave it a right to lend money; construct ditches, canals, pipe lines, etc.; conduct a slaughter house business; deal in livestock; construct railways; construct and maintain water and lighting works; maintain a mercantile business; and many other diverse activities. During the year ending December 31, 1890, the company had sold \$20,525 worth of real estate. The Cheyenne Street Railway Company was incorporated for \$500,000 and obtained a franchise from the city to maintain and operate a street car line in Cheyenne. In 1892 the company had a total deficit of \$8,500.

The Brush-Swan Electric Company was incorporated August 2, 1882, with a capitalization of \$100,000. The trustees were Morton E. Post, Francis E. Warren, Thomas Sturgis, Joseph M. Carey, and William C. Irvine. The purpose of the company, according to the charter was "to establish and maintain a system of electric lighting." Warren was elected president, and a contract was made with the city of Cheyenne to provide twenty-two electric arc lamps for five thousand dollars a year. Cheyenne is supposed to have been the first city in the world to use the incandescent electric-lighting system from a central station. Warren was also president of the Cheyenne Gas Company, and in 1888 he negotiated a merger between the two companies. In 1900 the merger was completed to form the Cheyenne Light, Fuel, and Power Company. At that time Warren controlled 947 of the total one thousand shares of stock of the Brush-Swan Company.⁴

Warren was greatly interested in the development and construction of railroads in Wyoming. He proposed and affected the organization of the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad Company, becoming its president.⁵ This road was built northward one hundred and fifty-three miles from Cheyenne to make a connection with the Wyoming Central, a branch of the Northwestern system. The assessed valuation of the road in 1898 was \$599,352.⁶ In 1891 Warren was one of the trustees of a railroad project to run a line through

⁴An article in the *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, September 6, 1890, claimed that the city of Cheyenne paid Warren \$225 per year for each light used in the public streets while Denver paid \$120 for each light; Boston, Massachusetts, paid \$180; and in Decatur, Illinois, where the plant was municipally owned the cost per light was sixty dollars.

⁵*Salt Lake Tribune*, loc. cit.

⁶*State of Wyoming*, compiled by Charles W. Burdick, (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 110.

the center of the state to the Big Horn Basin.⁷ For some reason this project was never carried out.

Warren's biggest investment in Wyoming was his ranch and livestock business. When the firm of Converse and Warren dissolved in 1877, Warren bought the sheep and ranch interests of the company. At different times he was a partner of the firms of Guiterman and Warren, engaged in cattle raising; Miner and Warren, engaged in sheep raising; and Post and Warren, engaged in horse, cattle, and sheep raising. He soon became one of the largest sheep growers in the country. Senator Dolliver once called Warren "the greatest shepherd since Abraham."⁸ The Warren sheep ranges rapidly grew to include large sections of land in Wyoming and Colorado. Osgood gives the following picture of the ranches of the Warren Livestock Company as described in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of March 28, 1889:

Like the cattle growers, the sheepmen began to combine the summer pasturage of the open range with the winter feeding of hay, raised on privately owned or leased land. One Wyoming sheep company reported in 1889 its holdings as follows:

	Aeres
Land in fee simple	96,000
Leased University and school land in Wyoming and Colorado	23,000
Range rights	150,000
Government land	15,000
Total	284,000

The portion of this ranch lying south of the Union Pacific was described as being twenty-five miles long and seven miles wide, all fenced, partially irrigated by thirty miles of main ditch and sixty-five miles of laterals. Eighteen hundred tons of hay were being cut yearly to feed the flocks, which numbered about seventy thousand head. The company maintained thirty-eight ranch houses and sheep stations scattered over this area, connected one with the other by telephone.⁹

As the Warren ranges spread, the little ranchers were crowded out. There was considerable ill feeling toward

⁷Newcastle News, October 2, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The Warren Collection, which is preserved in the University of Wyoming Library, contains many scrapbooks.

⁸Laramie Weekly Boomerang, June 10, 1909.

⁹Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 229-30.

Warren in southern Wyoming and the extreme northern part of Colorado because the small cattle ranchers felt that they were unfairly treated. Newspapers frequently told of conflicts between Warren's herders and the small cattle men in the vicinity. The *Cheyenne Leader*, in 1891, carried stories told under oath of "Senator Warren's sheep-herders driving out the small settlers in the neighborhood of his vast range or forcing them to sell out at ridiculously low figures."¹⁰

During the Roosevelt administration, Warren became involved in charges of illegal fencing. In 1912 a House Committee was appointed to investigate the charges that the Warren Livestock Company was illegally fencing Government land. The Committee accepted as correct an investigation made in 1906 by E. B. Linnen, Special Land Inspector for the Interior Department. Linnen concluded that the Warren Livestock Company had 46,330 acres of Government land unlawfully and illegally inclosed by barbed wire fences in Laramie County, Wyoming, and 1,120 acres unlawfully fenced in Weld County, Colorado.¹¹ Linnen said in his report that practically the whole southern portion of Laramie County, Wyoming, was unlawfully inclosed by fences which had been standing for fifteen to twenty-four years.¹² Linnen further stated on the basis of depositions taken from certain settlers in southern Wyoming:

Persons who have settled on lands within said unlawful inclosures have been harassed by said stockmen and their employees and agents; their stock has been driven off; their pastures eaten out by the stockmen's sheep and cattle; their fences cut; windows broken in their houses. They have been threatened and intimidated and everything has been done by the owners of said illegal fences and their agents and employees to make it uncomfortable and a hardship for such settlers who filed within their pastures to continue to live there. They have forced them to abandon the lands so filed upon or to sell out.¹³

A further charge was made that employees of the company had filed on desert claims without complying with the land laws, and, that these lands when secured, had been deeded

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 245.

¹¹*House Reports*, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., 1912-13, I, No. 1335, "Unlawful Fencing and Inclosures of Certain Lands," p. 4 (Serial number 6334)

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³*Loc. cit.*

to the company. According to the reports, special agents of the land office had disregarded the protests of the settlers against the activities of the Warren company. Linnen further asserted that:

There is at this point a strong coterie of politicians with Senator F. E. Warren at its head. This combination controls the Federal office holders. It seems hardly likely that honest prosecution can be had with the present machinery in this State, and I believe it will be found as necessary to make radical changes here, as was the case in the States of Oregon and Nebraska.¹⁴

Warren denied the truth of these assertions. He admitted that the Warren Land and Livestock Company had purchased sections of land from the Union Pacific Railroad Company and that, by inclosing these railroad sections had inclosed government land. He further claimed that when such fencing had been declared illegal the company had removed its fences.¹⁵

Many livestock companies in addition to Warren's had resorted to the practice of fencing their sections of railroad land in such a way as to inclose alternate sections of government land to secure large blocks of grazing land at a low cost per acre. This practice was made possible through the policy of the United States government of granting land to railroad companies to aid in the financing of the construction of new lines. Alternate sections of lands along the lines were granted to the companies as soon as the roads were completed adjacent to those lands. Later the railroads adopted the policy of selling their lands to settlers at prices low enough to allow purchase for grazing lands. In the eighties the Union Pacific Company began to dispose of their arid sections for grazing and ranch lands. In 1884 the company sold 2,081,130 acres in southern Wyoming.¹⁶ A law was passed in 1885 declaring illegal the practice of inclosing government land by fencing railroad lands. But in 1888, in the Douglas, Willian-Sartoris case, the Supreme Court of the Wyoming Territory declared such fencing to be legal.¹⁷ Finally, in 1895 the United States Circuit Court

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁵In a letter to President Roosevelt dated October 5, 1906, Warren wrote, "To the best of my knowledge and belief I do not personally own a foot of illegal fence." *Ibid.*, p. 20ff.

¹⁶Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 213. Osgood discusses the decision of the court at some length.

of Appeals upheld the validity of the law of 1885, and declared this practice of inclosing government lands illegal.

President Theodore Roosevelt seems to have been unwilling to believe that the charges made against Warren were correct. In 1901 and again in 1903 Roosevelt visited in Wyoming and on several occasions was a guest at Warren's ranch. During one visit Roosevelt wrote from Cheyenne to his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, "Sunday afternoon . . . I had another 30 mile ride—riding up to Senator Warren's ranch; where we dined and rode back by moonlight."¹⁸ Apparently Roosevelt and Warren had become quite friendly toward each other for as early as 1907 Lincoln Steffens, in a letter to Roosevelt, intimated that the president was "impatient" with the gossip about Warren.¹⁹ In a letter to Secretary Hitchcock, Roosevelt called certain accusations made by Linnen against Warren "loose" and "scurrilous."²⁰ Warren believed that he had convinced Roosevelt of his innocence when he wrote:

. . . I had blown the charges to atoms and convinced the President, Attorney General and all hands except Hitchcock and his henchmen that we were free from any illegal fencing or fraudulent land entries.²¹

Warren was associated with Thomas Sturgis²² in an attempt to bring about a combination in the cattle business. The cattle industry in Wyoming suffered a major catastrophe during and following the winter of 1886-87. Drought conditions during the summer were followed by a winter of unusual severity. The cattle, their vitality already lowered because of a lack of sufficient feed, were unable to withstand the deep snow and bitter cold. Herds were wiped out, many cattlemen became bankrupt, and a general unloading of stock on the Chicago market caused cattle prices to fall ruinously. One of the failures following the winter of 1886-87 was that of the Union Cattle Company.

¹⁸*Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 23.

¹⁹*The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1936), I, p. 183.

²⁰*House Reports, op. cit.*, p. 33.

²¹Letter from Francis E. Warren to Hiram Sapp, January 25, 1909. Warren Collection.

²²Thomas Sturgis was elected Secretary of the Laramie County Stock Association in 1876 and served in that capacity until his resignation in June 1887. He was a man of excellent judgment and great executive ability, and was recognized throughout the country as a leader in the cattle industry. John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (Chicago, 1924), p. 245.

The president of the company, Thomas Sturgis, went to New York where he organized the American Cattle Trust. This was apparently an attempt to ward off by combination a disaster similar to that of the previous winter. The purpose of the Trust, as well as Warren's attitude toward big business, is summarized in a letter to Sturgis:

In the Cattle Trust we cannot represent the same monopoly of product, nor the same combination to force prices on the entire product, as can the Oil Trust, Whiskey Trust, etc. About our only claims, so far, must be combination with the slaughtering interest, economy of range handling on account of combination, and an insurance of a partial nature by combining various ranges which will not all suffer severe winters together. The most attractive feature of Trusts of all kinds, in my mind, is that of controlling the production or controlling the selling price, or both.²³

Warren, who was appointed to represent the Trust in Wyoming, held \$20,000 worth of certificates in the Trust. The enterprise was probably short-lived as there is no mention of it in accounts of the cattle industry.

Warren was one of the bondsmen of Otto Gramm, Wyoming State Treasurer in 1896, when the Kent bank of Cheyenne, in which Gramm had deposited \$44,147.31 of the state funds, failed. John W. Lacey and Josiah Van Orsdel were the attorneys for the defendants in the case brought against the bondsmen by Attorney General Fowler.²⁴ The Supreme Court decided that the provision of the law which said that the state funds "should be received and kept by the State Treasurer" did not mean that they should be safely kept.²⁵ Justice Corn, the only Democratic member of the court, dissented, claiming, "In the case of money if it is kept at all and is forthcoming when required it is kept safely."²⁶ He further maintained that,

²³Letter from Warren to Sturgis, August 18, 1887. Warren Trust Book. (This letter book is preserved in the Warren Collection, University of Wyoming Library.)

²⁴John W. Lacey was brother-in-law of Willis Van Devanter who was appointed to the Supreme Court bench by President Taft. Josiah Van Orsdel became one of the judges of the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia.

²⁵*Cheyenne Tribune*, March 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁶*Cheyenne Tribune*, March 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

"There is no issue in this case which makes such a distinction between keeping safely important or relevant."²⁷

Warren had a long and varied political career in the territory and state of Wyoming. He was elected to the City Council of Cheyenne in 1883 and 1884. He was elected a member of the territorial legislature and was president of the upper branch council in 1884. Also in 1884 he was elected mayor of the city of Cheyenne and was made treasurer of the territory of Wyoming. President Arthur appointed Warren governor of the territory a few days before the inauguration of President Cleveland. Cleveland was disposed to let Warren remain in office in preference to a carpet bagger but removed him in 1886 when disturbing rumors reached him that Warren was a "land grabber" and a "cattle baron."²⁸ In his place was appointed George W. Baxter, who became involved in charges of illegal fencing and he, too, was removed.²⁹ Warren claimed that his opposition to the policies of Land Commissioner Sparks and his protest to the Secretary of the Interior about the regulations which Sparks imposed upon the entries for public land were the reasons for his dismissal.³⁰ President Harrison reappointed Warren as governor of the territory in 1889.

Warren was still holding this appointment when on July 10, 1890, in the presence of Joseph M. Carey, delegate to Congress from the territory of Wyoming, President Harrison signed the bill making Wyoming a state. Warren called the first state election for September 11, 1890. He was given the Republican nomination for candidate as governor

²⁷*Ibid.* Warren in 1896 had introduced a bill in Congress intended to relieve the bondsmen from paying the indebtedness of Postmaster Masi incurred by the failure of the Cheyenne National Bank. The similarity of the two cases is interesting. *Daily Sun-Leader*, June 11, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁸Theodore Knappen, "The West at Washington," *Nation*, 105:411, October 11, 1917.

²⁹George W. Baxter became a resident of Wyoming in 1881 where he entered the cattle business. He was appointed governor of Wyoming Territory in November 1886, but resigned in December of the same year by request of President Cleveland. Baxter had previously purchased 50,000 acres of land from the Union Pacific Railroad. He sold 20,000 acres and fenced 30,000. In order to fence his own land it was necessary to inclose the alternate sections which belonged to the public domain. Before fencing, Baxter had consulted United States attorneys as to his right to do so. In 1885, however, the President had issued an order that government land could not be fenced for range purposes. Baxter was a Democrat and in order not to embarrass the administration, it was considered advisable for him to resign his office. Francis Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming; from Territorial Days to the Present*, (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933) I, p. 391.

³⁰*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, April 10, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

while his Democratic opponent was Baxter. The campaign was intensely bitter and both sides descended to personal animosities and slanderous accusations. The Republican position was particularly strong because that party claimed the distinction of having secured Wyoming's statehood.

The Democratic press resorted to publishing stories of Warren's alleged misconduct in office and his use of political position for personal profit. He was accused of misrepresenting the value of the sheep held by the Warren Livestock Company for purposes of assessment, of renting office room in buildings privately owned by him when there was sufficient room in the capitol building, and of buying equipment for the governor's office from his own mercantile store. Warren was further criticized because in 1885, when he was governor of Wyoming, he had called for federal troops to suppress the Chinese riot in Rock Springs. This action had aroused the ill feeling of the miners in Sweetwater County. Warren was portrayed in a cartoon as protecting the Chinese while driving the white miners from their work with the aid of armed police, while a printed circular signed "Organized Labor" was distributed in the mining camps accusing Warren of trying to pack a jury in order to secure conviction of the miners. Joseph Young, United States marshal in Sweetwater County at the time of the Chinese riot, had signed an affidavit to the effect that Warren had approached him with the purpose of securing a jury unfavorable to the miners.³¹ This affidavit was used extensively as campaign material by the Democrats. In spite of the efforts of the Democrats to defeat him, Warren was elected the first governor of the state of Wyoming by a majority of 1,726 votes over his rival.

The first state legislature convened at noon on November 12, 1890, and six days later Warren was elected the second United States senator from Wyoming on the fifth ballot with twenty-nine votes, two more than necessary.³² After the ballot at noon, Warren had given his consent to use his name, "believing," he said, "it would either result in my election or crystallize the situation so that a final result would be reached."³³ On November 24, eight days later, Warren sent his resignation as governor to Amos W. Barber, Wyoming's secretary of state. On the same day he sent a letter to the State Legislature accepting the senatorship. He had been invited to address the Legislature

³¹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 18, 1890.

³²*Ibid.*, November 19, 1890. Joseph M. Carey was elected the first United States senator from Wyoming several days earlier.

³³*Evanston Register*, November 22, 1890. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

but declined on a plea of a previous engagement. Warren's opponents claimed that he had no constitutional right to accept the position as a provision of the Wyoming state constitution stated that the holder of the office of governor could not accept any other office. His supporters refuted this argument on the grounds that a state has no right to prescribe the qualifications of a United States senator. In Congress, on December 1, the credentials of Senators-elect Carey and Warren were presented by Senator Hoar and the oath of office was administered.³⁴ Drawing by lot to determine their respective terms, Warren drew the short term expiring March 3, 1893, while Carey drew the longer term.

Warren was not reelected in 1892. Throughout the campaign the Republicans were on the defensive for the cattlemen's invasion of Johnson County had aroused the antagonism of the settlers and the small ranchmen and spelled the defeat of the Cheyenne political machine.³⁵ In fear for the annihilation of the cattlemen's army, Governor Barber wired President Harrison for troops, stating that a revolt was in progress and law and order must be restored. Harrison authorized troops from Fort McKinney to be sent to the scene of the trouble. According to an article in the *Chicago-Herald*, Barber also telegraphed to Senators Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren at Washington, D. C., asking them to get quick action from President Harrison. Late at night, the two senators immediately called upon Secretary of War Grant and General Schofield. Schofield was a personal friend of Major Wolcott, a leader of the invasion. The president was aroused from his bed for a consultation.³⁶ Warren denied that he had any knowledge of the invasion, but popular feeling undoubtedly connected him with it. Charles Bingham Penrose, who accompanied the expedition into Johnson County, felt confident that both Carey and Warren knew about the plans.³⁷ Clay wrote, "Behind them [the cattlemen] they had the moral influence of the two senators, Warren and Carey."³⁸

³⁴*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., December 1, 1890, p. 1.

³⁵Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 254. The Johnson County war was an armed conflict between the settlers of the northern part of Wyoming and the cattlemen. The cattlemen claimed that the settlers were harboring "rustlers" or cattle thieves. A force of armed men, recruited from other states by the cattlemen, left Cheyenne for Buffalo, April 5, 1892.

³⁶Robert B. David, *Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff*, (Casper, Wyoming: Wyomingana, Inc., 1932) p. 260.

³⁷*The Johnson County War: The Papers of Charles Bingham Penrose*, edited by Lois Van Valkenburgh, p. 33. (University of Wyoming thesis.)

³⁸Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

The Populists, or "People's party," took up the cause of the settlers. At their first national convention, held at Omaha, on July 2, 1892, a resolution was adopted by a special committee which condemned "the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by federal officials."³⁹ In Wyoming fusion between the Populists and Democrats was successful in electing John E. Osborne as governor and Henry A. Coffeen to the House of Representatives.⁴⁰ The first state legislature had made no special provision for a board to canvass the returns from the election. No attempt was made to canvass the returns, until finally on December 2, Osborne took the oath of office. Acting Governor Barber protested at this "usurpation of office" and claimed that all the election returns had not been received. On December 3, Osborne issued a proclamation asserting that the "delay was due to a conspiracy for the purpose of changing the results in the election of certain members of the Legislature, and thus insure the election of a certain aspirant for the United States Senate."⁴¹ Osborne was obviously referring to the election of Warren. Democratic papers asserted that the delay in canvassing the returns was an attempt to keep Warren in office.⁴²

³⁹The Populist party had especial significance for the settlers. Their national platform demanded the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, an increase in the amount of circulating medium to not less than fifty dollars per capita, a graduated income tax, establishment of postal savings banks, a government ownership of railroads and communication facilities. They denounced the monopolization of lands by corporations and railroads and demanded the return of the land to the government to be held for actual settlers. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 509.

⁴⁰Harrison, the Republican candidate for president, received 8,454 votes in Wyoming while Weaver received the combined Democratic-Populist vote of 7,722. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

⁴¹Beard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 495.

⁴²The canvassing board finally chosen consisted of Governor Barber, State Treasurer Gramm, and Auditor C. W. Burdick. A dozen guards were posted to keep order. The board decided not to count the Hanna precinct (in Carbon County) which meant a loss of seventy votes for the Republican electors and one hundred thirty-three for the people's party electors. Chapman and Bennett, the defeated Democrats, brought a mandamus proceeding to compel the state canvassing board to canvass the vote of the Hanna precinct. A demurrer was filed by Judge Van Devanter, attorney for the Republicans, on the plea that the nomination of Bennett was not properly certified to and that there was an irregularity in the printing of the ballots and the voting. In the case of Chapman, the additional plea was made that he was not a citizen of the United States. The Supreme Court over-ruled the demurrer filed by Van Devanter and rendered a decision to compel the state board to canvass the vote. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, January 4, 1893.

In the Wyoming legislature twenty-two Republicans, twenty-one Democrats, and five Populists gave the balance of power to the Populists. A deadlock occurred in an attempt to elect a senator to succeed Warren and the legislature adjourned February 18, having failed to elect a senator after the thirty-first ballot. Governor Osborne, who had succeeded in keeping the governorship, appointed A. C. Beckwith to the Senate position. In the debate in the United States Senate on the legality of the appointment, Senator Vest of Missouri argued against the right of a governor to appoint a senator when the state legislature is in session.⁴³ After prolonged debate in the Senate, Beckwith sent in his resignation before the Senate had ruled, with the result that Wyoming had only one senator, Carey, in the period 1892-1894.

Warren was reelected to the Senate in 1894 and served continuously until his death on November 24, 1929, at the age of 85. He served for the longest term on record in the Senate—a total of thirty-seven years. He held many important committee positions. He was chairman of the Committee on Claims in the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses, during which time he secured the enactment of two omnibus claims acts carrying an aggregate appropriation of \$4,165,203 for payment of claims against the government. This represented an inestimable amount of work, for the claims involved numerous items of various kinds. He also was chairman of the Military Affairs Committee and of the powerful Committee on Appropriations. He distinguished himself for his legislative ability on these committees. He served on each of the committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, and Public Buildings and Grounds.

The purpose of this thesis is to follow in some detail Warren's career in the Senate from 1890 to 1902. His career in Congress can best be understood in the light of his experiences as a stockman and a promoter in the economic development of a frontier state. He played a prominent part in this development and was unusually aware of the problems which confront a frontier community. The remaining pages of this thesis deal specifically with legislation in which Warren played a prominent part. Warren's chief interest lay in his own state, so the problems are largely limited to those particularly pertinent to the far West. An attempt has been made to interpret Warren's attitudes and activities on the basis of Wyoming's political and economic history. Only on this basis can Warren's work be properly judged and evaluated.

⁴³*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 10, 1893.

Chapter II

**WARREN AND THE WESTERN DEMAND FOR
FREE SILVER**

When Warren entered the Senate one of the most pressing questions facing the country was the demand of the Western states for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In 1873 the Congress of the United States had failed to make any provisions for the coinage of the silver dollar. Shortly after, when new silver mines were opened up in the West, the production of silver had steadily increased at the same time that the demand for its use as money, at home and abroad, decreased. The price of silver in terms of gold dropped rapidly to the alarm of the Western mine owners. In 1878 the Bland-Allison Act, passed as a "stop to the silver miners,"⁴⁴ required the Secretary of the Treasury to buy each month for coinage purposes at the market price not less than two, nor more than four, million dollars worth of silver. The act had little effect on the decline of the price of silver, and in 1890 a compromise was made between the silver men of the West and the protective tariff men in the East which resulted in the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Senator Teller of Colorado was the only silver Republican opposed to the compromise. He thought that the silver men should not accept anything less than free coinage.⁴⁵ The Sherman Act required the government to purchase fifty-four million ounces of silver per year. This was enough to absorb the entire domestic product. Legal tender notes, to be issued in payment for the silver, were redeemable in gold or silver coin. In spite of this huge purchase of silver, the price of silver did not go up and the silver interests still clamored for free coinage.

Many Wyoming Republicans as well as Democrats believed that the prosperity of the state was dependent on the silver issue. An editorial in a Wyoming Republican newspaper maintained that "Wyoming has more at stake in the silver bill than in admission as a state."⁴⁶ The Republican State platform of 1890 endorsed the Sherman Act and declared for the "restoration of parity of value between the two money metals and the free coinage of silver."⁴⁷ Warren's attitude on the silver question was never clear out.

⁴⁴John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1931), p. 305.

⁴⁵Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941), p. 189.

⁴⁶*Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, June 28, 1890.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, August 23, 1890.

His interest in the issue seems to have been slight, although he often aroused the antagonism of the pro-silver element. He was usually at variance with such silver senators as Teller of Colorado and Stewart of Nevada. In public statements he made to the press he seemed to be unwilling to go on record as favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Perhaps because he was aware of the strength of the silver movement he often straddled the main issue.

Warren frequently said that he favored the free coinage of silver only if it were limited to the product of the United States. During the next session of Congress the silver senators tried to get through a bill providing for free coinage. Teller called the new purchase act "Wall Street's bill"⁴⁸ and Senator Stewart had attached to the financial bill a proviso calling for free coinage. In Congress on January 5, 1891, on the motion of Stewart, the Senate voted to lay aside the election bill and to take up the financial bill on the calendar at that time. Stewart's motion prevailed with the help of twenty-six Democratic votes supplemented by eight from the Republican side. Twenty-nine republicans voted in the negative sustaining Senator Hoar who was leading the fight for the elections bill. Warren and Carey did not vote. The eight silver Republicans who voted for the motion were Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Stewart and Jones of Nevada, Shoup and McConnell of Idaho, Stanford of California, and Washburn of Minnesota.⁴⁹ Stewart's amendment which provided for free coinage and the remonetization of silver was agreed to in the Senate, January 14, by a vote of forty-two to thirty. Carey, Warren, Dolph, Moody, Pettigrew, Casey, and Pierce were the Western senators who voted against it.⁵⁰ Warren stated that he was in favor of coinage of the American product and that he voted against the amendment because it opened our mints to make America the dumping ground for the silver of the world.⁵¹ Senator Stewart in a letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune* charged that Carey and Warren were "intimately associated with Eastern business interests" and that while the bill was pending they refused to agree to vote favorably if the amendment was limited to the coinage of American silver.⁵² Warren demanded a retraction of Stewart's statement and the silver senator immediately complied.⁵³

⁴⁸Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁴⁹*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., January 5, 1891, p. 912.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, January 14, 1891, p. 1229.

⁵¹*Cheyenne Tribune*, February 6, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵²*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵³*Washington Post*, February 20, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

In the next session of Congress Stewart introduced a bill providing for the free coinage of gold and silver bullion.⁵⁴ Warren submitted an amendment to Stewart's bill providing that foreign silver and all bullion from any other country should be excluded from the provisions of the act, but the amendment was rejected.⁵⁵ On July 1, the Stewart bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five. Carey and Warren voted against the bill. A storm of criticism descended upon them for their votes against free silver. Throughout the West their conduct was considered detrimental to the interests of the Western states. In Ogden their effigies were hung in front of the Grand Opera House. A placard was hanging to Senator Warren's effigy which read, "This is Senator Warren who voted against free silver in the United States Senate."⁵⁶

Warren was not reelected to the Senate in 1892, and so was absent when the Sherman Act was repealed in 1893. The determination of the administration to redeem the silver certificates provided for under the Sherman Act resulted in a steady drain of gold from the United States Treasury. Fear that the Treasurer would not be able to keep a reserve of gold caused a general hoarding of that metal. Hard money men blamed the uneasiness of business conditions on the Sherman Act. President Cleveland soon after his election in 1892 demanded of Congress the repeal of the act. The movement for repeal immediately encountered the opposition of the silver men. Those senators who had objected to the Purchase Act because it had not provided for free coinage united against repeal. Senators from the South and West began a filibuster against the repeal bill. Senators Dubois of Indiana, Power of Montana, Wolcott of Colorado, Carey (Wyoming's only senator at the time), Daniel of Virginia, Jones of Nevada, Kyle of South Dakota, Peffer of Kansas, and Shoup of Idaho, filibustered for eighty days. At last, in a desperate move, on October 7, the repealists led by Voorhees of Indiana attempted to hold a continuous session until a vote was achieved. An article in the *American Historical Review* says, "These nine men (the leaders of the filibuster) deprived the majority of sleep through the night of Wednesday, and the daylight

⁵⁴Stewart's bill provided that owners of silver bullion might deposit the bullion at any mint of the United States to be coined for his benefit. It was to be the duty of the proper officers to coin such silver bullion into standard silver dollars which should be a legal tender for all debts, public and private. This bill was intended to repeal the act of July 14, 1890. *Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., December 10, 1891, p. 23.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, June 3, 1892.

⁵⁶*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 8, 1892.

hours of Thursday, and on into Thursday night."⁵⁷ In spite of the efforts of the opposition the repeal bill passed and was signed by the President.

Free silver continued to be a question of political importance in Wyoming for some time. A severe agricultural depression continuing into 1894 and 1895 forced the prices of farm products to unheard of lows. The distraught farmers, believing that free silver would bring up the price level, joined the mine owners in their demands. In 1894 Warren and Clarence D. Clark were elected to the Senate on a Republican state platform which recommended "the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, with full legal tender functions accorded to each in payment of public and private debts."⁵⁸ In the campaign of 1896 the silver question was a foremost political issue in the state. Throughout Wyoming enthusiasm for silver ran high and everywhere in the state Bryan free silver clubs were organized. Sheridan boasted a club with a membership of one hundred and fifty.⁵⁹ A silver club was organized in Laramie with three hundred members.⁶⁰ W. H. Holliday and C. P. Arnold were respectively chairman and secretary of the first meeting. At a picnic at Centennial Valley, a little mining settlement west of Laramie, a huge bonfire was built in honor of free silver.⁶¹ The Democratic state platform adopted at Laramie demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into primary redemption money at the rates of sixteen to one without waiting for the action or approval of any other government."⁶² The Republicans endorsed the platform of the national convention which declared itself in favor of the gold dollar as the standard of value. During the campaign Democratic newspapers accused Warren of being on the side of the "hard money" men. One paper said, "Warren was not sufficiently a friend of the silver cause to stand with Teller, Dubois, and Mantle when the test came whether there should be a silver bill or a tariff bill."⁶³ The editor was referring to an attempt made by Senator Morrill of Vermont to secure the consideration of the tariff bill. The silver senators were determined to defeat Morrill's motion and succeeded by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-nine.⁶⁴

⁵⁷Jeanette Paddock Nichols, "Silver Repeal in the Senate," *American Historical Review*, 41:39, October 1935.

⁵⁸*Denver News*, January 5, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵⁹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 5, 1896.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, August 24, 1896.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, July 7, 1896.

⁶²*Ibid.*, July 14, 1896.

⁶³*Ibid.*, August 5, 1896.

⁶⁴*Congressional Record*. 54 Cong., 1 Sess., February 13, 1896, p. 1691.

Senators Warren and Clark voted for the motion. In the final election the combined Democratic and Populist vote gave Bryan, the silver candidate for President, 10,655 votes as against 10,072 for McKinley, the Republican candidate.⁶⁵

After 1896 Warren's attitude toward silver legislation became more favorable. In the next Congress Senator Teller offered a resolution declaring that all bonds of the United States authorized under certain acts of Congress were payable, principal and interest, at the option of the government of the United States in standard silver dollars. On January 28, when the resolution was voted upon, Warren declared his intention of voting for the resolution, but maintained that he was so voting in order not to commit himself to gold monometallism, and asserted his faith in international bimetallism.⁶⁶ He alluded to the Black Friday gold panic and argued that it would be safer in times of panic if the United States had reserved the privilege of paying either in gold or silver. He then made this reservation, "I am not committed by my vote to the extreme and extravagant pro-silver position assumed by some of the senators."⁶⁷

During the debates Warren and Clark both voted against the following amendments; one offered by Senator Nelson declaring for maintenance of parity between gold and silver; by Henry Cabot Lodge, "to make any other payment of principal or interest than in gold or coin or its equivalent without the consent of the creditor a violation of public faith"; and one by Quay of Pennsylvania, "to make bonds, principal, and interest payable in the highest money of the world." All these amendments, designed to defeat the silver provision, were defeated and the resolution was agreed to by a vote of forty-seven to thirty-two.⁶⁸ The State Treasurer of Wyoming, Henry G. Hay, resigned as chairman of the Republican Central Committee for Laramie County because of Warren's vote on the resolution, declaring that Warren proposed to "force the Republicans of the state into a position antagonistic to McKinley, the National

⁶⁵Stanwood, *op. cit.*, I, p. 567.

⁶⁶In April 1897, President McKinley had chosen Edward O. Wolcott of Colorado, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, and Charles J. Paine of Massachusetts as commissioners to visit Europe in the interests of International bimetallism. The English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, stated the refusal of the English government to open her mints to the free coinage of silver, and the French government expressed unwillingness without the mutual action of England. Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916) I, p. 355.

⁶⁷*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., January 28, 1898, p. 1163.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1173. This resolution was defeated in the House of Representatives.

Republican Party, and the St. Louis platform.”⁶⁹ In February a similar resolution was introduced as an amendment to the tariff bill and Warren and Clark voted against it. Warren explained that he voted against it because he did not want it to jeopardize the tariff bill.

During the same session Warren and Clark voted for Senator Wolcott’s seigniorage bill. This bill authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to coin into silver dollars \$4,000,000 worth of silver per month until the sum of \$42,000,000 should have been issued. As said silver was coined the Secretary was to issue silver certificates to the amount of the seigniorage derived from the purchases of silver bullion by the Treasury under the Sherman Act.⁷⁰ These silver dollars so coined were to be used for the redemption of the certificates issued under this act. Wolcott’s bill was agreed to in the Senate by a vote of forty-eight to thirteen.⁷¹

By 1900 prosperity had returned and interest in silver as an issue had waned. The problems of imperialism had replaced silver in popular interest. In that year Senator Teller led the fight against the bill which established the gold standard in this country. Teller offered amendment after amendment to defeat the bill, but the Senate rejected them and accepted the single gold standard by a majority of seventeen votes. Warren was not present when the bill was passed but he had previously announced his intention of voting for it.

Warren’s contribution to the silver cause was essentially negative. His interest in free silver seems to have been primarily political for his votes on the various silver bills reflect the political tendencies of the day. From 1890 to 1892 Warren voted for the defeat of the several coinage bills which were introduced. In 1893, when the Sherman Act was repealed, Warren was absent from the Senate but

⁶⁹*Washington Post*, January 31, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The St. Louis platform opposed free coinage of silver except by international agreement. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

⁷⁰“Seigniorage, which the silver men were anxious to coin, was the difference between the actual cost of the bullion purchased monthly and its nominal value if coined into dollars at ‘16 to 1.’ Of course the Treasury was not minting all its compulsory purchases into dollars each month. Instead it was coining only enough silver dollars to match the amount of the paper money, ‘treasury notes,’ issued to pay for the bullion. As bullion fell in price, the government needed to issue smaller and smaller numbers of silver dollars to match the notes. This left an excess of uncoined bullion lying in the vaults steadily depreciating as the market price fell. If this seigniorage were coined . . . it would automatically double in value by virtue of the government stamp; and the silverites thought this would help to turn the price of bullion upward.” Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁷¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., June 3, 1898, p. 5458.

Senator Carey was one of the leaders in the movement against repeal. As Warren and Carey usually voted alike on questions, Warren, had he been in the Senate, might have voted against repeal. In 1896, when the silver element had defeated the Republicans in Wyoming, Warren for the first time voted in favor of silver. His interest in silver was subordinate to his interest in the tariff and he consistently voted in favor of the tariff when the two questions claimed precedence. On this point it is interesting to compare Warren's attitude with that of Senator Teller of Colorado. Both were Republicans from Western states and both had long and distinguished careers in the Senate. On foreign policy Warren and Teller inclined toward imperialism and in regard to the tariff both were high-protectionists. But to Teller silver was the paramount issue while to Warren silver was merely incidental to the maintenance of a protective tariff on wool. In 1900 Warren definitely turned away from silver and supported McKinley and Hanna in establishing the single gold standard. Warren's lack of interest in the silver cause may be attributed to the fact that Wyoming was not a silver producing state. Wilbur C. Knight, State Geologist of Wyoming, wrote in 1898;

While Wyoming may have as good lead and silver camps as any other state, it is a hard matter to interest capital in a proposition ranging from fifty to two hundred miles from the railroad. The production of either of these metals is very small indeed.⁷²

While silver as an issue was popular in Wyoming, this popularity was not based upon any important vested interest. It was natural that Warren, who represented the vested interests of the state, should have been more concerned with wool than silver.

⁷²*State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 65.

Chapter III

WARREN'S FIGHT IN THE SENATE FOR A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON WOOL AND HIDES

Warren was once called the most notorious special interest representative in the West.⁷³ He was the leading representative of the sheep industry in Wyoming. Sheep had been introduced in Wyoming in the early seventies and by 1890 sheep raising had become an important factor in the economic life of the state. It was estimated that in 1892 the number of sheep in Wyoming was 639,205 with a value of \$1,204,787. By 1896 their numbers had almost doubled to 1,308,063 valued at \$2,317,084.⁷⁴ In 1901 the Warren wool clip amounted to 750,000 pounds,⁷⁵ while in 1902 thirty-one million pounds of wool were sold in Wyoming.

Warren became well known for his determined fight in the Senate for a protective tariff on wool. In 1895 he was elected vice president of the American Protective Tariff League for Wyoming and in 1897 he was elected national president of the League.⁷⁶

Warren was favorably disposed towards the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 which raised the duties on wool, especially on the lower grades, or carpet wools. He claimed that one of the benefits of the act would be the encouragement of the domestic production of wool in this country making it unnecessary to import wool from Australia. He further claimed that the McKinley Act was not responsible for the low wool prices at that time and that, rather the act had kept prices from falling lower than they had.⁷⁷ As the act of 1894 put wool on the free list, Warren blamed the failure of the Warren Livestock Company on the low prices of wool which he attributed to the Wilson Act.⁷⁸

⁷³Editorial in *Collier's Weekly*, August 27, 1912, p. 8.

⁷⁴*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 25, 1896.

⁷⁵*Cheyenne Tribune*, July 6, 1901. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁶*New York Sun*, January 22, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁷Interview printed in *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, August 16, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁸In 1894 the Warren Livestock Company went into bankruptcy but subsequently resumed operations. Most economists do not attribute the low prices of wool following 1894 to the Wilson bill. For example, an expert on the wool tariff says:

The tariff issue came to the forefront in the campaign of 1892, and, with the election of President Cleveland, revision downward was regarded as a foregone conclusion. The new tariff act was passed in 1894, and wool was placed upon the free list for the first time since 1861. The compensatory duties on woollen goods were swept away, and in place of the old system of compound specific and ad valorem duties, a schedule of

Following the depression after 1893 wool prices had declined from a top price of twenty-three cents a pound in 1890 to a top price of twelve cents a pound in 1894.⁷⁹ A general decline in numbers of sheep throughout the country did not extend to Wyoming. From 1890 to 1894 the number of sheep in Wyoming had increased from approximately 500,000 to 870,000, an increase of seventy-four per cent.⁸⁰

After the election of McKinley in 1896 the wool interests were determined to prevent the retention of wool on the free list. Warren fought vigorously any attempt to keep wool on the free list in the act of 1897. The crisis in the sheep growing industry gave Warren a point of attack against the Wilson Act. In January, soon after the convening of Congress, Warren introduced this resolution in the Senate:

In view of the late unprecedented shrinkage in numbers and values of farm animals throughout the United States as shown by the last published reports of the Department of Agriculture, the attention of the Committee on Agriculture is hereby especially directed to this subject, with the request to consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation,

purely ad valorem rates was instituted. The duty upon the classes of goods which were most largely imported was placed at fifty per cent, which was the same as that of the McKinley act of 1890. The woolen manufacturing industry, therefore, was not subjected to a drastic cutting in its protection.

The domestic wool growing industry suffered by reason of the tariff change, but the crisis in the industry was not caused entirely by the removal of the wool duty. There had been a decline in wool prices ever since the middle eighties, and the market had taken another downward turn not long before the era of free wool began. The enactment of the new law followed the panic of 1893, and was accompanied by industrial depression to which several causes contributed.

The number of sheep was reduced rapidly in all sections of the country except the northern Rocky Mountain area (Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana). The decrease in numbers between 1893 and 1896 amounted to about 10,000,000, and the fall in value was so great that many flocks were butchered for the pelts and tallow. The low prices led to such neglect of the sheep that many were carried off by disease. The situation should not be regarded as having been principally caused by the tariff; it was rather the culmination of a series of events which had been lessening the profit of sheep raising. The new situation led to a readjustment in agricultural methods and in animal husbandry to correspond with changed conditions.

Mark A. Smith, *The Tariff on Wool* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 116.

⁷⁹These figures are taken from a speech made by Warren when the wool schedule of the Dingley bill was under consideration.

⁸⁰Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 230. These figures are based upon a report of the Wyoming State Department in 1926.

if any, is necessary to preserve our herds and flocks.⁸¹

In support of this resolution he gave a long speech in which he attacked the Wilson bill and attempted to show that the Wilson bill was directly responsible for the decline in numbers of livestock in this country. He also argued that importation of wool had increased and that prices of wool had greatly declined since 1894 as a consequence of putting wool on the free list.⁸² In conclusion Warren made this appeal:

Total Value of Farm Animals

Year	Values in Dollars
1890	\$2,418,766,028
1891	2,329,787,770
1892	2,461,755,698
1893	2,483,506,681
1894	2,170,816,754
1895	1,819,446,306

Imports of Wool in Pounds

	Ten months ending October	
	1894	1895
Class 1	25,807,462	113,672,709
2	2,841,422	16,731,985
3	54,574,386	80,652,544
Total	83,223,270	211,057,238

Market Prices of Utah and Wyoming Wool

	1890	14-23 cents
October	1891	14-23
April	1892	14-23
October	1893	14-21
April	1894	9-14
December 29	1894	9-12
January 26	1894	9-13
February 23	1894	7-12
June 22	1894	8-13
September 28	1895	7-13
January 1	1895	7-13
April 1	1895	7-13

Will the Congress of the United States duly weigh and consider the deplorable condition of our livestock interests? Shall we not "about face" and

⁸¹*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., January 20, 1896, p. 785. Warren was subsequently appointed on a subcommittee to investigate the conditions of cattle shipments to foreign markets and report legislation necessary for reciprocal benefits to this traffic. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, February 21, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 898-905. In support of his contention that the numbers and values of farm animals had greatly decreased since 1894 Warren presented the following figures taken from the Report of the Agricultural Department, No. 123, Division of Statistics.

change our un-American, unpatriotic policy of especial protection to foreign stock growers and manufacturers to that time honored American policy of protecting the interests of our own citizens and institutions?⁸³

The making of a wool schedule was always complicated by the conflict of interests between the wool growers and the woolen manufacturers. A protective tariff on wool increased the cost of the raw material for the manufacturers. Before the rates could be agreed upon the differences had to be compromised, as both interests had powerful backing in Congress. In a conference held on February 9 and 10 at Washington between representatives of the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers, Warren was appointed one of the conferees for the National Woolgrowers Association. The woolen manufacturers presented the following as the highest rates they would aid in securing duties:

Class one. Wools of the value of sixteen cents per pound or less, a duty of eight cents per pound; on wools over sixteen cents per pound, ten cents duty; doubled on washed, trebled on scoured. The rate in the McKinley Act of 1890 was eleven cents per pound, without any dividing lines as to value; doubled on washed, trebled on scoured.

Class two. Wools of the value of sixteen cents per pound or less, nine cents per pound; on wools over sixteen cents in value, eleven cents per pound duty; trebled if scoured.

Class three. The ad valorem rates of the Act of 1890, on wools valued at thirteen cents per pound or less, thirty-two per cent, and fifty per cent over that value.⁸⁴

The conference failed to reach any agreement as the woolgrowers rejected the rates offered by the manufacturers, demanding as the lowest rates they would accept:

On wools of the first and second class a duty of twelve cents per pound; doubled on washed, and trebled on scoured.

On third class wool, sometimes called carpet wool, but largely used in manufacturing of clothing

⁸³This speech was reprinted by the American Protective Tariff League. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, July 17, 1896.

⁸⁴*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., Document No. 36, pp. 82-83.

goods, a duty of eight cents per pound; doubled if washed, trebled if scoured.⁸⁵

Warren led the fight in the Senate for protection on low grade wools. Warren was particularly interested in the low-grade or carpet wools, because more of that grade of wool was grown in the West than in the East. The Ohio farmer because of his higher costs of production could not afford to grow low grade wool. In the West where production costs were relatively low such wool could be grown profitably. An article in the *Philadelphia Press* accused Warren of "fighting for a tariff on wool to enrich his own pockets."⁸⁶ In March Warren went before the Finance Committee asking for further changes in the classification of wool; so that certain wools allowed to come in as third class under the House bill would be transferred to a class paying a higher rate of duty.⁸⁷ Warren explained that although not very much third class wool was grown in the West, the sheep industry suffered through the importation of wool as third class, ostensibly to make carpets, but which was made into clothing, and displaced domestic first class wools.⁸⁸

During the debate on the wool schedule Senator Allison of Iowa submitted the following amendment designed to impose an additional duty on scoured wools of the third class:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns or which shall not contain more than eight per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three

⁸⁵*Loc. cit.*, The wool schedule as finally adopted in the Dingley Tariff provided that the duty upon all wools of the first class was eleven cents per pound, and upon all wools of the second class the value of which was twelve cents or less per pound the duty was four cents per pound. The duty on shoddy was twenty-five cents per pound. The duty on wools of the first class imported washed was to be twice the amount of the duty on unwashed wools; the duty on wools of the first and second classes which were imported scoured was three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed. "Unwashed wools" have had no cleansing whatsoever; "washed wools" are washed only on the sheep's back or on the skin. Wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin was considered as "scoured wool." See *United States Statutes at Large*, Volume XXX, p. 183.

⁸⁶*Philadelphia Press*, July 10, 1897. Clipping in Warren scrapbook.

⁸⁷Warren also asked for higher duties on soda, asbestos, graphite, and hides. In 1896 some mines near Buffalo were producing asbestos. Some samples of a superior quality of asbestos were reported to have been discovered near Hyattville. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 2, 1896.

⁸⁸*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, June 23, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.⁸⁹

Warren defended the amendment on the grounds that the importation of wool in an unwashed state gave more opportunity for labor in preparing the wool and consequently more employment for laborers in this country than its importation in a washed state. Senator Gray of Delaware was one of the leaders against Allison's amendment. During the debate between Warren and Gray, both senators argued bitterly and descended to the use of personal remarks. In answer to Warren's argument Gray replied:

You invite, then, the dirty fleeces from Australia and from the Argentine Republic, and put, as I said, a premium upon dirt, because you get protection on the dirt and because you get a duty on the dirt.⁹⁰

Gray stated further:

It is certainly a fraud upon the carpet manufacturers, and in order to subsidize one industry you are going to paralyze numberless industries. . . . Its inevitable effect is to enormously raise the price of manufactured woolen goods to the consumer.⁹¹

Warren argued that the per capita consumption of wool was comparatively small and that each consumer would not be taxed over forty to seventy-five cents for the added duty on wool. He said, "A great hullabaloo is made here upon this floor now and always about the consumer of wool and the vast amount that it is costing him."⁹² To which Gray made a personal allusion to Warren's sheep interests; and continued:

Nobody objects to paying the tax, even though it may be a heavy tax, if it all goes into the Treasury; but I think a great many people object to paying taxes, not into the Treasury, but into the pockets of a class of people who claim that use of the taxing power for their own benefit.⁹³

⁸⁹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 22, 1897, p. 1907.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1908. Gray maintained that the clothes which "the millions wear are more than forty per cent cheaper than they were prior to 1894." *Ibid.*, p. 1955.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 1908.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 1954.

⁹³*Loc. cit.* A common criticism of the Dingley bill was its extreme sectionalism. An editorial in *Harper's Weekly* for May 22, 1897, said, "It's weak point is its sectional spirit, and this may in future laws

Senator Allison's amendment passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-six and was finally incorporated in the act as signed by President McKinley. Both Senators Warren and Clark voted for it.

A further argument used by Warren was that the Wilson bill had encouraged the importation of shoddy into this country:

I suppose that those who supported the Wilson bill based their arguments, then as now, on the grounds that they were trying to protect the wearers of woolen goods. How did they protect them? They made a tariff that increased the importation of that unclean, contemptible article, shoddy, and they made a tariff under which shoddy could come into this country more freely and delude the poor who bought that character of clothing. Shoddy importations increased 1700 per cent, if my figures are right, in ten months after the passage of that law. That is what the Wilson law did. Under it old rags from all countries, hair and refuse were brought over here and worked into clothing, because under the operations of the Wilson law the workingmen of this country were made too poor to buy decent clothing, and they sought to buy the cheapest thing they could get. The Wilson law had opened the door to that adulterant just as it opened the door to every other adulterant and fraud from abroad.⁹⁴

Senator Mills of Texas strenuously objected to Warren's assertion and declared that the protective tariff was no protection to wool as against shoddy and the Wilson law

open up a wide field for contests. The 'West' has demanded certain duties, notably on hides, fruits, lead, and cheap wools, that threaten to disturb and even to destroy important interests in the 'East.' Free hides have built up an immense export trade in leather manufactures, amounting to more than \$20,000,000 a year. Cheap wools have placed our domestic manufactures upon an equality with their foreign competitors, and given them the choice of wools produced throughout the world—a choice necessary to the production of fine-grade goods." p. 506.

⁹⁴*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 23, 1897, p. 1955. As to shoddy, Miss Tarbell says, "The demand of the wool-growers that the prohibitive duties on all kinds of wool substitutes be restored was imperative. By raising the cry of 'shoddy' they could wrest a duty from Congress on any material no matter how valuable to the manufacturer. Perhaps no word has been more unjustly degraded in the history of industry in this country. The world has never produced enough raw wool to meet the demand for woolsens. It has always been necessary and probably always will be necessary to use wool waste and wool rags." Ida M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), p. 248.

had not stimulated the importation of shoddy. He continued that it was American ingenuity that had stimulated its use in manufactures because it was cheaper than wool. He asserted that the manufacturers "can put shoddy over the eyes of our wool growers instead of wool and fool them with the argument they make here and make them believe that they are getting the benefit of it."⁹⁵

Warren introduced an abortive amendment to the wool schedule calling for a sixty-six per cent retroactive tariff on all wool imported into the United States before the passage of the act which was not manufactured nor in process of manufacture. According to an article in the *Boston Transcript*, the Supreme Court several years previously had decided against retroactive duties.⁹⁶

Warren was interested in a tariff on hides as well as on wool. In the Senate in 1897 Warren admitted to Senator Smith that he was in favor of a duty on hides. In June of that year he introduced an amendment to the tariff bill imposing duties on raw skins and hides including sheep skins, goat skins, chamois, calfskin, and kangaroo skins. The amendment proposed a thirty per cent rate on all tanned but unfinished skins.⁹⁷ In 1903 when Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment to place hides on the free list, Warren retaliated by offering an amendment to put leather manufactures such as shoes, belts, saddles, and harness on the free list.⁹⁸ An incident related by Archibald Butt, a friend of President Taft, is interesting because it reveals a little of Warren's relations with Taft as well as his attitude toward the tariff. According to Butt, Taft opposed Warren's fight against free hides. Butt wrote that Taft had been "trying to get hold of Senator Warren on the wool and hides schedules" and that he had served notice on Warren that if he did not withdraw his fight on free hides, "he would force an inspection of the wool schedule which would be worse than anything the Senator could anticipate."⁹⁹ Butt thus quoted Taft, "I have tried persuasion with Warren and if that does not do he can go to hell with his wool schedule and I will defeat him without compromise."¹⁰⁰

Warren led the fight of the Western stock interests

⁹⁵*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 23, 1897, p. 1957.

⁹⁶*Boston Transcript*, June 11, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁷*Philadelphia Times*, June 11, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁸*Denver Republican*, December 18, 1903. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁹Taft and Roosevelt, *Intimate Letters of Archie Butt* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company), I, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰*Loc. cit.*

against the reciprocity treaty with Argentina. The Republican National Platform of 1896 had a plank advocating the renewal and extension of the reciprocity arrangements begun under the McKinley Tariff. It declared, "Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand."¹⁰¹ The Dingley Act, in line with the policy enunciated in the platform of the Republican party, made provisions for negotiating reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. The president was authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to enter into commercial treaties with other countries allowing a twenty per cent reduction on goods imported as specified in the treaty.¹⁰² A treaty signed July 10, 1899, with Argentina proposed a twenty per cent reduction on sugar, hides, and wool.¹⁰³ Both Senators Warren and Clark opposed the treaty. Clark was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs which had the reciprocity treaties under consideration. Warren, in speaking of the treaty said that the "semi-barbarous and half civilized South Americans" would keep wages at "starvation rates."¹⁰⁴ In an interview Warren declared that approval of the treaty would be ruinous to the sheep industry. He stated further:

Our treaties with Great Britain give her equal advantages with those which we grant to the most favored nation. If we should ratify the Argentine treaty—which in my opinion, will not be done—what will prevent Great Britain from demanding the reduction on wools from Australia which we grant to Argentina?¹⁰⁵

The treaty with Argentina was one of eleven (the others being with Great Britain, France, Nicaragua, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador) which were defeated by the opposition of the ultra-protectionists and the special interest groups. By their own terms the treaties were allowed to expire without ever having come to a vote in the Senate.¹⁰⁶

By 1896 the Western states had sufficient votes in the Senate to exert considerable influence on legislation. By

¹⁰¹Stanwood, *op. cit.*, I. p. 534.

¹⁰²*United States Statutes at Large*, XXX, p. 204.

¹⁰³*Senate Documents*. 56 Cong., 1 Sess., Volume 4, Document No. 21. (Serial No. 3846)

¹⁰⁴*New York Press*, February 12, 1900. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁰⁵*Iron Age*, (New York City) February 1, 1900. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁰⁶W. Stull Holt, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 198.

working in a body they succeeded in putting wool on a high protective tariff basis. Warren, as a recognized leader of the wool interests, undoubtedly determined to a large degree the character of the wool schedule of the Dingley Act, one of the highest protective tariffs in the history of this country. His popularity among his constituents was due in large part to his fight for the wool schedule. Sheep men in Wyoming were generally agreed that free wool meant the destruction of the sheep growing interests in the West. It is true that the sheep raising industry was built on a protective tariff basis and the removal of the tariff meant a temporary dislocation. But the Wilson Act was not in operation long enough to make it possible to determine the effects of free trade. The low price of wool during these three years was only a phase of the general depression throughout the country. Conditions were already beginning to improve when the Dingley bill was passed. Warren's attitude toward free trade and his opposition to the reciprocity treaties reflect the sectional character of the protective tariff. Few legislators are sufficiently mindful of the economic welfare of the people as a whole to be forgetful of the economic interests of their constituents. It is not necessary to condemn or condone Warren for his fight for a protective tariff on wool. He was an integral part of the economic group which he represented and as such acted as he thought best for the welfare of that group.

Chapter IV

OTHER LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE SHEEP AND CATTLE INDUSTRIES

Congress in 1891 provided for the inspection of live cattle and hogs, carcasses, and meat products in interstate and foreign commerce.¹⁰⁷ Warren tried to have the provisions of the act modified and he opposed measures designed to extend its operation. In 1901 he supported a proviso, attached to the agricultural appropriation bill, providing that the Secretary of Agriculture, at his discretion, might waive the requirement of a certificate with beef and other products which were to be exported to countries that did not require such inspection. In the debate on the proviso Warren said:

I will say that the clause was originally inserted because there are certain small canners of meat who

¹⁰⁷*United States Statutes at Large*, XXVIII, p. 269.

sell their brands to foreign Southern countries and others. They are not large and are scattered throughout the country, and they sell their product entirely under the guaranty of their brand. Those countries so buying do not require this inspection and it would be a very considerable expense to the Agricultural Department.¹⁰⁸

Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota, objected to Warren's assertion and reminded Congress of the rotten canned meat which had been palmed off on the American soldiers during the war with Spain. Pettigrew continued, "It seems to me that here is a provision to open the doors to the palming off of this miserable stuff upon the people of those countries who do not create a row about it."¹⁰⁹

A further argument between Warren and Pettigrew took place when it was discovered in the process of framing the meat inspection act that some horse meat was canned in this country for exportation without being labelled as such. Warren objected to Pettigrew's statement that such meat should be truthfully marked. Warren said during the course of the debate with Pettigrew:

Now does the Senator think it would be well to ingraft in our statutes a provision saying we are manufacturing horse meat and sending it to other countries, and we are going to brand it horse meat and thereby bring attention to something that I understand is a dying industry, because these horses were slaughtered and canned at a time when horses on the range were worth from three dollars to five dollars a head, and the advance in the price of stock has since carried them up above the market for slaughter.¹¹⁰

At the same time in Congress there was an attempt being made to regulate the sale and manufacture of oleo-margarine. Warren did not approve of the bill that was introduced for this purpose. He presented a memorial of the National Livestock Association remonstrating against the bill.¹¹¹ Warren declared that he had no evidence to

¹⁰⁸*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 12, 1901, p. 2301 ff. This provision was finally adopted. See *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXII, p. 289.

¹⁰⁹*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 12, 1901, p. 2301 ff.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 2302. Live horses and products thereof were subjected to inspection. *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXII, p. 289.

¹¹¹*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 4, 1901, p. 1877.

indicate that the manufacturers of oleomargarine were seeking to color it so that they could sell it for butter, and that he believed that the provisions were too stringent.¹¹²

In contrast to his attitude on the meat packing and oleomargarine bills, Warren supported a measure known as the "Anti-Shoddy" bill which provided that manufacturers of mixed goods (goods or garments made in imitation of woollens but not composed wholly of pure wool) should be marked so that the constituent fibers and the relative portion of each should be plainly shown, and that likewise all imports of clothing or cloth should be similarly marked. The bill provided for the imposition of a penalty for the offense of selling or offering for sale cloth or clothing not properly labelled. Warren wrote about the bill:

Wool growers take the ground that adulterated woolen goods, when sold as "all wool," as is often the case, disappoint the wearer and serve to drive customers away from woolen and toward the use of cotton or other substitute fabrics, thus causing distrust of honest woolen goods and a disuse of the good as well as the bad in woolen wear. Excepting from the standpoint of the desire to protect the public health, wool growers have no serious objection to the use of adulterated woolen goods, if the degree of adulteration is made known to the purchaser. The use of shoddy in the manufacture of clothing is claimed by many to be a constant menace to the public health. Shoddy is the fiber of woolen cloth separated and rearranged for spinning by machinery. The best is made from the sweepings of tailor shops and the emptyings of rag bags in civilized countries. The worst comes from no one knows where, but it is reasonably certain that much of it is made from the rags gathered by rag pickers in the slums and alleys of European cities and shipped to America under the term, "re-used wool fiber." Disease is, of course, liable to lurk in this product, and it is asking little of the national legislature that it may be marked so that it may be avoided by those who do not wish to use it.¹¹³

¹¹²An act was passed May 9, 1902, to make oleomargarine subject to the laws of any State into which it was transported, and imposed a tax on the manufacture of imitation and adulterated butter. It further provided that such butter must be plainly labelled as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue might prescribe, and for the inspection of such manufacturing plants by the Secretary of Agriculture.

¹¹³Francis E. Warren, "Honest Clothing by Legislation," *Independent*, 54:1598-99, July 3, 1902. Part II.

Warren tried to explain the discrepancy of his attitude toward the Anti-Shoddy bill and the oleomargarine bill on the grounds that the oleomargarine bill sought "to cripple an industry and practically put an end to the manufacture of a food product not injurious to health, through the exercise of the taxing power."¹¹⁴ This statement does not satisfactorily explain his opposition to the meat inspection acts. The real explanation seems to be that he feared that the meat inspection acts and the oleomargarine act would injure the livestock interests, while the Anti-Shoddy bill was obviously designed to aid the wool growers. As Warren fought for a protective tariff on wool to protect the sheep industry, so he opposed the oleomargarine and the meat inspection bills because he was the representative of the stock growing interests. Stockmen objected to the oleomargarine bill because a large percentage of the materials used in its manufacture was animal fat, and they joined with the meat packers against an effective meat inspection act.¹¹⁵

Chapter V

WARREN'S WORK FOR IRRIGATION OF THE ARID LANDS

Irrigation began in Wyoming along the Overland Trail and around military posts. The oldest ditch in Wyoming was built in 1857, and others were constructed in the early sixties.¹¹⁶ Early methods of irrigation were very primitive.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1599.

¹¹⁵In 1906 President Roosevelt directed Secretary of Agriculture Wilson to appoint a committee who would confer with Upton Sinclair, whose *Jungle* had revealed shocking conditions in the meat packing plants, to begin an investigation. Senator Beveridge introduced the administration's meat inspection bill. Beveridge's biographer says, "The packers and cattlemen of the western plains made common cause against the bill. . . . Senator Warren . . . replied for the packers and served notice that they would pass the cost of inspection on to the consumer and the cattlemen. Bitter and in jeering mood, he made a personal attack on Beveridge, who ignored the personalities and sought in vain to pin him down as to the date upon the cans." Claude T. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (New York: The Literary Guild, 1932), pp. 229-232.

¹¹⁶Elwood Mead, *Irrigation Institutions* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 49. Mead was a recognized authority on irrigation engineering. At various times he was chief of Irrigation Investigations of the United States Department of Agriculture, Professor of Institutions and Practice of Irrigation in the University of California, and Special Lecturer on Irrigation Engineering in Harvard University. He spent fifteen years in Colorado and Wyoming as assistant State Engineer in Colorado and territorial and State Engineer in Wyoming. Through his efforts Wyoming developed one of the finest systems of water rights and irrigation laws in the West.

By means of a simple plowed furrow, water from a stream would be diverted to the low-lying lands near the stream. Dams were temporary, consisting of bags of sand and head-gates were an exception. The early irrigator made money selling garden produce to the emigrants and soldiers. In Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Nevada the need of a winter feed supply for cattle and sheep led to the construction of ditches for the purpose of bringing water on near-by meadows. Elwood Mead thus describes the development of early irrigation in the West:

Returns from irrigation were large. Owners of gardens along the Overland Trail sold their cabbages for \$1 a head and their potatoes for 50 cents a pound. Flour sold in Alder Gulch, Montana, for \$100 dollars a sack. With such returns following irrigation, ditches were built wherever men settled, in the vicinity of mining camps, around the stage stations of the Santa Fe and the Overland Trails, in the Mormon colonies of Utah, around transplanted New England at Greeley, Colorado, or on a sheep or cattle ranch in Montana.¹¹⁷

Later when it was desired to irrigate the lands farther from the stream it was necessary to build larger and costlier ditches. Partnerships and cooperative ditches were undertaken but met with unforeseen difficulties. The Greeley Colony in Colorado was a cooperative enterprise which for a while suffered because of a lack of knowledge and capital. The construction of ditches proved to be more costly than anticipated, and one ditch which cost \$30,000 to construct watered only 2000 acres rather than 120,000.

The next step was the formation of corporations which furnished capital for the construction of large irrigation works. They expected to make a profit by selling water rights to settlers. In Wyoming the Wyoming Development Company, located sixty-five miles north of Cheyenne, was the earliest corporate enterprise. Joseph M. Carey was the leading promoter of the colony. The reservoirs of the company were built on the Laramie River, a branch of the North Platte River in southeastern Wyoming. These reservoirs were capable of storing the entire year's discharge of the Laramie River. A publication of the Secretary of State of Wyoming in 1898 thus described the Wheatland Colony which was founded by the company:

¹¹⁷*Loc. cit.*

There are three large canals of a total length of forty-four miles, having a capacity equal to the irrigation of 60,000 acres of land. It is proposed to extend the system so as to water 120,000 acres. Over \$500,000 was expended in the original construction of these works. The soil is a rich sandy loam, and when irrigated, is well adapted for raising wheat, oats, barley, rye, potatoes, turnips, flax, beets, certain varieties of corn, etc., without other fertilization than comes from the application of water for irrigation.¹¹⁸

One of Warren's chief desires as Senator of the United States was to get legislation favorable to reclamation of the arid lands. From experience Warren was aware of the hazards involved in winter feeding of cattle and sheep on the open range, and the necessity of raising forage crops to supply hay for winter feed. Also the sugar beet industry was becoming of increasing importance in the economic life of the Western states and demanded an increase in irrigable land for its fullest expansion. The publication quoted above spoke thus about the growing of sugar beets in the Wheatland colony:

One of the crops which promises to bring money to the Wheatland farmer is the sugar beet. The amount of saccharine matter in most sugar beets ranges from 12 to 16 per cent, but the Wheatland beets, according to the official reports of the Government chemist, showed 22 per cent of saccharine matter.¹¹⁹

In an article written for the *Illustrated American* Warren wrote:

In cultivating and curing sugar beets a large amount of sunshine is necessary. There should be much moisture in starting and growing the beet, but the percentage of saccharine matter is always greatest when the beet is finished under a very high percentage of sunshine and a very low percentage of moisture. Sunshine and drought with moisture applied occasionally at will, through the artificial

¹¹⁸Charles W. Burdick, *The State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 32.

¹¹⁹*Loc. cit.*

application of water, furnish exactly the condition required.¹²⁰

Soon after his election to the Senate Warren introduced a bill proposing to cede the arid lands to the states and territories within which they were situated and to provide for irrigation and the utilization of pasturage lands.¹²¹ The bill, introduced late in the session was never reported out of committee, but in the next session on March 9, 1892, Warren introduced the same bill. Warren's bill was not the first of this sort to be introduced into Congress, for as early as 1869 Utah had asked for land to be used in promoting irrigation projects. At frequent intervals bills were introduced asking for land to aid in irrigation.¹²² On July 21 in defense of his bill Warren gave a long speech reviewing the history of irrigation in different countries and the

¹²⁰Francis E. Warren, "The Splendid Riches of Our Arid Lands," *Illustrated American*, 22:585-7, November 6, 1897.

¹²¹*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., July 21, 1892, p. 6486. Following is the text of Warren's bill summarized:

Section 1. To provide for the cession of all public land except mining lands to the states west of the ninety-ninth meridian under the following conditions:

1. That each state shall proceed to divide its area into irrigation districts and the construction of canals, reservoirs, etc.
2. After ten years if any State has not complied with the provisions of the bill the lands shall be reclaimed by Congress.
3. Each state may mortgage, pledge, or sell any lands hereby granted for the purpose of raising requisite funds to accomplish reclamation.
4. Any lands so reclaimed shall be sold to actual settlers in tracts not exceeding 160 acres of irrigable land in addition to which each settler shall be entitled to grazing land provided that his total holding shall not exceed 320 acres at a price not exceeding one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre and the states shall enact laws for disposal of lands under homestead entries not exceeding 320 acres. No settler is to enter more than 160 acres of irrigable land.
5. All grazing lands may be apportioned or leased to actual settlers. Each settler may be entitled to rent the pasture lands which lie nearer to the lands of such settler than to those of any other settler excepting when bounded by natural barriers as mountains, canons, hydrographical basins, etc.

Section 2. Timber lands and reservoir sites shall remain the property of the State or territory. Timber needed for domestic, manufacturing, or mining use may be so used subject to laws enacted by the legislature thereof. Each state shall have authority to provide by statute for sale of surplus timber, protection of forests, planting of trees, etc.

Section 3. Report is to be made to the President of the United States annually.

¹²²Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *History of Public Land Policies* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 424.

benefits to be derived from a system of irrigation for the arid states. Warren attempted to show the value of irrigation as an aid to agriculture and the necessity of giving serious and helpful consideration to the subject of irrigation of the arid lands of the West.

Warren's bill aroused considerable discussion in the Wyoming newspapers. In the discussions pro and con the question arose as to what agency could best be intrusted with control of an irrigation program. Warren in an interview quoted in the *Washington Post* claimed that "Present federal land laws are defective and inapplicable to the arid region. Each state can best frame the laws suited to its peculiar conditions."¹²³ Arguments advanced against state control were to the effect that cession to the states meant that there would be more chance for land graft and fraud, and the frauds connected with the disposal of the swamp lands of the East were cited. Senator Power of Montana charged that Warren and Carey were anxious for the segregation of arid lands to increase their private holdings.¹²⁴ Warren denied this and said that he was trying to carry out the endorsements as expressed in the various irrigation conventions. The Trans-Mississippi Congress, held at Denver, had endorsed Warren's arid land bill,¹²⁵ and at the next meeting held at Omaha, at which Warren took a prominent part, the representatives declared themselves as favoring cession of the arid lands.¹²⁶ Another argument against state control was the increased expense to the state and the added burden on the taxpayers. Still another argument was that irrigation was purely a local problem and could best be handled by local irrigation districts. The Wyoming Democratic State Platform of 1892 carried a plank condemning Warren's bill and voiced the general suspicion with which the bill was regarded:

We favor the cession of government lands to the states only under such constitutional or congressional restrictions as will prevent final disposal of them by the states until they are fully reclaimed; and prevent the control of large tracts by corporations or individuals and that all unreclaimed grazing lands shall forever remain unleased, an open common upon which all citizens may graze their flocks and herds. We also demand that the accept-

¹²³*Washington Post*, December 21, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁴*Omaha Bee*, January 20, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁵*Denver Republican*, May 23, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, October 23, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

ance of any lands donated by the general government to the states shall be by vote of the people of each state.¹²⁷

Elwood Mead wrote thus about Warren's bill:

The measure introduced in Congress by Senator F. E. Warren, of Wyoming, in 1892, which provided for the union of land and water, for the classification of the public lands into irrigable, grazing, and forest areas through a comprehensive economic survey, and for the location of ditches according to a prearranged plan having for its object the most economical use of the water supply would, if adopted, have saved to irrigators many water fronts which have now passed into the hands of speculators.¹²⁸

Warren never succeeded in getting his bill to become a law, and it remained for his colleague, Senator Carey, to introduce the bill which became the first act to cede the arid lands to the states.¹²⁹ That even as late as 1897 there was considerable sentiment favorable to state control is shown by a petition which Warren presented to Congress from the Legislature of Wyoming asking that all unoccupied public lands within the state be ceded to the control of that state.¹³⁰ In 1899 the Senate Committee reported favorably on Senator Stewart's amendment ceding five million acres of land to each of the public land states. In each session until the Newlands Act was passed there were several bills introduced for cession to the states.

The first step toward national control was the Chittenden report of 1897 made by Hiram M. Chittenden of the Engineers Corps. Warren secured the appropriation in the

¹²⁷*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 30, 1892.

¹²⁸Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹²⁹The Carey Act, which was passed August 18, 1894, provides for reclamation by cooperation between the nation, state, corporation, and individual. Under this act the states of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming were each given 1,000,000 acres of land, provided they complied with the conditions of the act. To Wyoming and Idaho, each, in 1908, there were an additional 1,000,000 acres granted. The method of development is similar to that of the irrigation district. A company forms a project. This is submitted to the state authorities. If approved by the state, the government at Washington is requested to withdraw the land from entry, and give control of it to the state. These two things done, the individual owners enter into contracts with the water company for the water rights, and they have a perpetual interest in the irrigation works. Charles Richard Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 193.

¹³⁰Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

river and harbor bill of June 3, 1896, which provided \$5000 for a preliminary survey of reservoir sites in the states of Colorado and Wyoming. Chittenden made a careful study of the whole problem of reservoirs, and in his report stressed the importance of a system of storage reservoirs in the West for purposes of flood control and irrigation. He stated in his report:

In no other part of the United States, nor anywhere else in the world, are there such potent and conclusive reasons of a public as well as a private nature, for the construction of a comprehensive reservoir system as in the region here in question.¹³¹

He recommended governmental construction of reservoirs because the work was necessarily interstate in character, as the government owned the larger part of the land area of the West, and because of the greater financial resources of the national government. As a first step he recommended the construction of a reservoir on Piney Creek in Johnson County in northern Wyoming with an appropriation of \$100,000 and the South Platte site in Colorado with an appropriation of \$200,000.¹³²

In accordance with the Chittenden report, Warren in February 1899, introduced an amendment to the river and harbor bill proposing to appropriate \$100,000 for the construction of a reservoir system on Piney Creek, Wyoming, and a reservoir on the South Platte in Colorado with an appropriation of \$150,000.¹³³ The Senate committee dropped the provision for Colorado but provided for the construction of a reservoir in Wyoming at a cost limited to \$215,000. On February 24, Warren gave a long speech in support of his bill. His chief opponent was Senator Gray of Delaware who objected to a measure which taxed one section of the country to enable the western section to raise crops which would enter into competition with the Eastern agricultural products. Warren countered this argument by pointing out that the river and harbor bill without the reservoir amendment provided nothing for the western mountain states but benefited only those states of a commercial nature.¹³⁴ The House refused to accept the amendment and the conference committee dropped the item. Warren aided by other Western senators, including Carter of Montana and

¹³¹*House Documents*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 141, p. 50, (Serial No. 3666)

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹³³*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 8, 1899, p. 1595.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 2268.

Wilson of Washington, began a filibuster on the last day of Congress when the river and harbor bill came up for consideration. Warren's intention was to force the incorporation of his item in the bill. He began at eight-thirty in the evening, and with minor interruptions continued until three o'clock in the morning. He quoted at length from Chittenden's report to take up time. At last, seeing that the House conferees refused to give in, he finally agreed to let the bill pass without his amendment.¹³⁵ In March the *Irrigation Age* said:

No one is better fitted to speak on the subject of irrigation than Senator Warren and no one deserves more praise than he for the manner in which he has worked for the irrigation industry. Thoroughly posted on all phases of the subject practically as well as theoretically he has "borne the heat and burden of the day" and worked constantly and faithfully in the interest of irrigation and the state which he represents.¹³⁶

Warren was anxious to arouse interest in the subject of irrigation of the arid lands and to get information before Congress as to its desirability. In 1892 he introduced an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to make a study of artesian and underflow irrigation; on March 3, he introduced an amendment appropriating \$10,000 for collecting and publishing information as to the best methods of cultivating soil by irrigation; and a third amendment appropriating \$5000 for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to continue the collection of information as to the best methods of reclaiming arid lands and the cultivation of land by irrigation.¹³⁷ In 1895 he secured agreement to the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate, That the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture be requested to furnish such information as may be had in their respective departments concerning the existing legislation relative to irrigation as far as it concerns the Executive Departments, the operations of each bureau and office, in any way concerned with irrigation, the principles which govern the sub-

¹³⁵*New York World*, March 4, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. By his filibuster Warren endangered the \$1,000,000 appropriation for an investigation of the Panama and Nicaragua Canal sites.

¹³⁶Quoted in *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, March 17, 1899.

¹³⁷*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, March 8, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

division of work among the various offices wherever the law allows latitude, and such other facts as will serve to show clearly what has already been accomplished . . . in this line.¹³⁸

In 1896 Warren introduced a resolution providing for printing ten thousand copies of a report on irrigation in the Western part of the United States which was prepared for the Eleventh Census.¹³⁹ In March he introduced an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill authorizing the United States Geological Survey to continue the collection of information as to the best modes of irrigation and appropriating \$15,000, five thousand dollars of which was to be immediately available to enable the Survey to continue the work of gauging streams and determining the water supply of the United States.¹⁴⁰ In 1897 Warren introduced a bill providing for the entry of land for reservoir purposes.¹⁴¹ On June 13 of that year he presented documents and letters pertaining to irrigation which were ordered to be printed.¹⁴² In 1898 he submitted an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill providing for an investigation of the methods of building and operating irrigation canals.¹⁴³ Another amendment provided for the creation of a division of irrigation and reclamation of arid lands—the employees to include an irrigation engineer and his assistant.¹⁴⁴ He justified his amendment on the grounds that such a bureau, to which several Senators objected, meant “life and death to nearly one half of the area of the United States” and that it required the expenditure of only \$20,000 out of a total appropriation of between two and three million dollars.¹⁴⁵ Senator Stewart of Nevada in the debate on the amendment declared that “If there is anything that the Agricultural Department can do which would be more beneficial than any other particular thing, it seems to me this is the one.”¹⁴⁶ The conference committee reduced the total appropriation to \$10,000.

In 1899 Warren introduced an amendment providing \$50,000 for preliminary surveys or examinations to be made of one or more reservoir sites in each of the arid and semi-

¹³⁸*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 20, 1895, p. 253.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, January 21, 1896, p. 815.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, March 3, 1896, pp. 2377-2378.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

¹⁴²*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 818. (Serial No. 3562)

¹⁴³*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., Jan. 17, 1898, p. 672.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, February 2, 1893, pp. 1349 and 1394.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1395.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1395.

arid states.¹⁴⁷ On February 13, Warren spoke in favor of his amendment which was reported favorably from the irrigation committee:

Irrigation and reclamation of land is the most important economic subject or problem that we have before us today and is capable of yielding the largest returns to us as a problem. . . . Last year the friends of irrigation urged an increased appropriation and the Committee on Irrigation of this body reported an amendment providing for \$27,500. The Committee on Appropriations of the Senate consented to \$20,000. That amount was cut down in conference to \$10,000. With that \$10,000 the Secretary of Agriculture commenced this work. He became so much interested in it as did others who gave it attention that he estimated for and requested this year \$50,000 for the purpose, \$10,000 to be made immediately available. . . . The appropriation will really stand \$20,000 for the fiscal year 1899 and \$25,000 for 1900. . . . Gauging of streams furnished information useful for a great many purposes. Immigration hereafter must naturally be from our large cities into new country for those wishing to engage in agricultural pursuits. We have very little ground left that can be occupied except by irrigation. If there could be information for a would-be farmer which could be laid before him as to what amount of water is necessary to raise a certain crop, it would be very valuable. Much of the settlement made and work done along these lines have been primitive and generally wasteful as to the appropriation and use of water, and with but little more than an experimental knowledge of the kind of crops to grow, the amount of water necessary, and the most beneficial time and manner to apply it.¹⁴⁸

In August 1899, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson made a trip through the West. While in Wyoming he made a special study of the proposition to build storage reservoirs by government aid.¹⁴⁹

The river and harbor bill of 1901 as passed by the Senate carried an appropriation for the building of several reservoirs in the arid West. The House refused to incor-

¹⁴⁷*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, February 14, 1899.

¹⁴⁸*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 13, 1899, p. 1792.

¹⁴⁹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 10, 1899.

porate these items in the bill and conference committees appointed by each house were unable to reach an agreement. On March 2, Warren gave a long speech in support of the appropriation. During his speech he said:

The State of New York with her great delegation, can, if she chooses, in combination with other States with large delegations secure the passage of a bill with so much so-called pork in it that they can divide it around among such States and districts as they decide upon and in the arrogance of their power can say, "this great Western empire shall not have a dollar to develop a national industry in which every poor man, every family seeking a home, every pioneer struggling with the hard conditions of frontier life, may have a share"—the oleaginous pork obtruding from every pocket fore and aft, that can snap their fingers at us if they will.¹⁵⁰

Senator Carter from Montana led a successful filibuster against the river and harbor bill, and the last few minutes of the session expired before the bill came to a vote. Bit by bit Carter read the bill commenting at length on each provision. He was aided by Senator Wellington of Maryland, who said, "... In this bill, the most meritorious items, to my mind, are those that go toward the new plan—that of irrigation for our arid lands. . . ."¹⁵¹

During this session Warren also tried to amend the Carey Act to extend the time for reclamation from the date of approval by the Secretary of the Interior of the State's application for segregation. This bill also provided that the Secretary of the Interior, at his discretion, might extend the period for five years. Warren presented a letter from Secretary Hitchcock endorsing the amendment.¹⁵²

In 1902 a compromise was worked out. Those senators interested in irrigation agreed that they would not add any provision to the river and harbor bill concerning irrigation in the West if those senators primarily interested in the river and harbor bill would agree not to obstruct any irrigation bill that might be adopted. Accordingly the Senate passed a bill providing for the building of dams and reservoirs.¹⁵³ At the same time a bill was passed in the House providing for reclamation. The year 1902 witnessed a great

¹⁵⁰*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., March 2, 1901, p. 3544. Warren had introduced the amendment. See *Ibid.*, January 21, 1901, p. 1247.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, March 2, 1901, p. 3548.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, March 1, 1901, p. 3295.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., April 21, 1902, p. 4474.

triumph for the irrigation interests. President Roosevelt lent his influence to the reclamation program. Roosevelt in his first message to Congress on December 31, 1901, said:

It is as right for the national government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the head waters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.¹⁵⁴

The Reclamation Act was signed by President Roosevelt on June 17, 1902. This bill provides for national aid for reclamation purposes. It provides that the national government shall set aside the money received from the sale of land for a "reclamation fund" to be used in developing irrigation projects.

The Reclamation Act was commonly called the Newlands Act in honor of Representative Newlands of Arizona, the chairman of the Irrigation Committee in the House. Wyoming newspapers were unwilling to grant all honor to Newlands for the success in passing the bill. One Wyoming newspaper gave Representative Mondell the credit for getting the bill through the House and continued, Wyoming's delegates—O. D. Clark, F. E. Warren, and F. Mondell, all have stood nobly by this act.¹⁵⁵

Warren's most positive achievements in Congress during the years 1890 to 1902 were in securing legislation favorable to reclamation. He reflects the shift from private to state and from state to national control of the irrigation program. His efforts, along with the work of other Western senators, to secure national legislation and aid in the reclamation undoubtedly helped arouse the interest of President Roosevelt in the problem. Elwood Mead worked constantly with Warren to secure public recognition of the question. This work was hindered by the opposition of the Eastern interests to thus subsidizing the West. The farmers of the more eastern sections of the country had no desire to allow a flood of agricultural products from the West to force down the prices of their own produce. Ethan Allan Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, in his report to the President,

¹⁵⁴Frederick Haynes Newell, *Irrigation in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1902), p. 394.

¹⁵⁵*Star Valley Pioneer* (Afton, Wyoming) June 27, 1902. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

November 12, 1901, felt it necessary to thus reassure the Eastern farmer:

There need be no fear of competition of Western products with Eastern agriculture, since the Asiatic markets now opened will absorb the surplus of the Western farms. The character of these is also such that the staple crops of the East cannot now go to the remote West, nor those of the West come East, excepting in the case of semi-tropic and dried fruits.¹⁵⁶

By June 30, 1909, the reclamation fund had reached the sum of \$58,582,000 and \$45,750,000 had been spent in reclamation.¹⁵⁷ Water had been supplied to 424,549 acres. In 1908 two large projects were contemplated in Wyoming. The North Platte project involved the construction of the Pathfinder Dam fifty miles from the town of Casper and was intended to have a storage capacity of one million acre feet of water. The proposed Shoshone Dam in Big Horn County was intended to provide a storage capacity of 456,000 acre feet.¹⁵⁸

William E. Smythe in *The Conquest of Arid America* thus sums up the contributions of Mead and Senators Warren and Carey to the reclamation of the West:

Aside from the great work accomplished by Mr. Mead in reforming the irrigation laws and customs of the West, Wyoming has made another contribution of large importance to the country's progress along this line. Two of her United States Senators, Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren, have identified themselves conspicuously with great measures calculated to create homes for millions. Senator Carey was the author of the Act of 1894, commonly known as the Carey Law, which gave one million acres to each of the western states upon condition that the land be reclaimed and settled within ten years. Senator Warren is the leader of new and growing movement which aims at Federal appropriations to be used in the construction of great reservoirs beyond the reach of private enterprise. With signal ability and devotion these two Wyoming statesmen have labored for years to open the arid public domain to settlement; to solve the vexed questions arising from the unrestricted use

¹⁵⁶Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

¹⁵⁷Van Hise, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁵⁸Burdick, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

of the open range; and to provide enlightened legislation for the protection of the forests so important in connection with irrigation.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹William E. Smythe, *The Conquest of Arid America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900), p. 220.

(Continued Next Issue.)

When General Crook led the Big Horn Expedition in March 1876, the thermometer was reported at 22° below zero. The food had to be thawed out before it could be eaten. "Much of the time," Crook wrote, "the column looks like a procession of Santa Clauses, so heavily are beards and mustaches covered with ice."

In 1897 E. Buckley & Sons opened a woolen factory at the mouth of Swift Creek in Star Valley. Two sets of machinery were installed for the manufacture of yarns, blankets, quilt batting and the like.

In 1897 there were five charcoal kilns at Piedmont, then on the main line of the U.P.R.R. in Uinta County. After the construction of the Aspen Tunnel, Piedmont became practically a ghost town.

One of the entertainments of note held in the old Root's Opera House in Laramie, was an exhibition fight between John L. Sullivan, the heavyweight champion, and Norman Selby, better known as "Kid" McCoy.

Old timers claim that in the early days when the M. D.'s, (which stands for mule drivers) were freighting on the plains, and one of their long-eared nightingales got too musical and kept the boys awake with its braying, they would tie a stone to the offender's tail. This had the effect of shutting off the music.

In the summer of 1877 the Union Pacific replaced the iron rails on its Nebraska Division, (which included the line between Pine Bluffs and Buford), with steel rails. The replacement work progressed at the rate of one mile a day.

Stage Ride from Rawlins to the Wind River Boarding School, 1897

By COLONEL RICHARD HULBERT WILSON*

A description of the road by which the Wind River Boarding School is reached from Rawlins, its nearest railroad point, together with an account of the means of conveyance used, various points of interest along the route, the scenery and other points that may be of interest or advantage to the traveler is here presented. Few of all those who have traveled this road can fail to have all these indelibly stamped upon their minds, but as many have yet to make the trip for the first time, it is possible that these notes may meet the eye of some who will find them useful and beneficial. The teacher or other employee who is ordered for duty at our school will be directed to proceed to Rawlins, Wyoming. On arriving at that place and getting off the cars he will find himself in a little railroad town of about one thousand inhabitants and situated in a country, bare, rocky and treeless—in fact, not at all prepossessing in appearance.

The town is, however, quite a business center. The principal industries being those of freighting supplies to points to the north and south and the wool shorn from the numerous herds of sheep which can be seen almost anywhere on the prairie.

It is also an important railroad point being the end of a division of the Union Pacific Railway. No one can claim any great excellence or an ample supply for the water of Rawlins; it is drawn from artesian wells and the newly

*Colonel Richard Hulbert Wilson was born at Hillsdale, Michigan, on June 10, 1853. In 1873 he was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point from which he graduated in 1877, receiving his commission as a second lieutenant. He served as assistant instructor in the Infantry and Cavalry School until 1891, after which he was stationed at Ft. McKinney, Wyoming. From 1895-1898 he was the Indian Agent at the Arapahoe and Shoshone Agency, Wyoming.

Colonel Wilson participated in the battles of El Caney and San Juan, Cuba, and the siege of Santiago in 1898; he was recommended for brevet as a major "for Gallantry" at the battle of El Caney. He was commander of Fort Michael, Alaska, 1902-1904, commander of the Puerto Rico Provisional Regiment of Infantry, 1908-1909, and on duty on the Mexican border, 1917. He was retired on June 10, 1917.

On June 25, 1895, he was married to Grace A. Chaffin of Cheyenne, Wyoming.

arrived sojourner is respectfully advised to be chary in using it. The wind generally blows a gale and carries with it clouds of the soil which is of a loamy nature and well adapted to keep everything as dirty as possible.

The Depot Hotel, situated close to the railroad tracks, is a very well kept and comfortable hotel and there the traveler for this school is advised to betake himself so as to get a good night's sleep and fortify himself for the thirty odd hours of stage travel on the morrow. He had better first engage a seat in the stage, which he can do at the stage office, a few steps distant from the hotel. Then he is advised to devote all the rest of his spare time to sleeping. His slumbers will doubtless be disturbed by the rumbling of cars and the bells and whistles of the switch engine which seems to be kept busy all night. The next morning at about 8 o'clock the stage will be seen standing at the depot platform. The passenger will have plenty of time to take his seat and after loading on the mail and express matter the stage will get under way. The fare from Rawlins to Shoshone Agency is \$18.00 with a rate of 7 cents per pound for all baggage in excess of 40 pounds. Small children are carried free and passengers are allowed to carry without charge, a reasonable amount of wraps, bundles, etc.

The stage itself is not at all imposing in outward looks, nor, it must be confessed, the most comfortable carriage to ride in that can be imagined—still by staying in it one arrives at his destination, and what more can be asked?

Sometimes a band of antelope will be seen skimming over the ground with wonderful swiftness but these animals like all the large game of the west are becoming very scarce and wild. Of the feathered race few specimens will be seen. There is a little owl which seems to live in the dog towns and to inhabit the burrows of the rightful owners—the prairie dogs. Sometimes they can be seen perched upon the mound of earth by the side of a burrow or lazily flying near by. A hawk or an eagle may perhaps be noticed soaring high in the air, or a flock of blackbirds chattering about a piece of cultivated ground or a stable, but the song birds, which are so numerous in more favored regions, will neither be seen nor heard. The horned toad is often seen sunning itself in the sage brush and the passenger can sometimes look out of the window and get a view of a rattlesnake dragging its long, spotted body along hunting for something to eat, or coiled up under a bush. The stage driver, following the universal custom of the dwellers of the plains, never fails to stop for the purpose of killing this reptile, although when unmolested, it is quite harmless and has as much right to live as perhaps some of us have.

All of these members of animated nature can or may be seen, if the journey is made in summer, but in winter, that is from November until May, it is far different; then for many a mile no living thing will be met; on parts of the route during the winter, snow of almost any depth will be traveled over or through, and frequently the whole face of the country will be covered with a dazzling expanse of the fleecy element, covering sage brush and everything else not more than a foot in height. In spring, the melting snow will sometimes fill the road with soft, tenacious mud. This condition, however, will not last as the fierce blasts of the desert soon dry the mud and convert it, in most places into deep beds of dust.

About ten miles out from Rawlins, a chain of low hills of a bright red color will be noticed off to the right or eastward. It is one of the walls of the small canon in which Bell Springs, the first stopping place is situated, and in about three hours and a half after leaving Rawlins, the stage will dash up in front of the station. The altitude of the place is 6950 feet, and the distance traveled is 14 miles. The station is composed of a dry stone stable with a dirt roof and has an attachment consisting of one room, in which the man in charge (called the stock tender) eats, sleeps and lives. One or two other low stone buildings, more or less in ruins, will be noticed. The spring from which the station takes its name is about fifty yards to the left or westward. It is covered with a wooden curbing and from it a small stream trickles out through a lateral canon and runs down to the vast plain, which can be seen below. A halt of about 15 minutes is made here for the purpose of changing the horses, and a fresh pair having been harnessed the journey is resumed.

At this point, if the weather is fine, and the traveler has not already done so, he should take a seat outside beside the driver. The drivers are generally experienced plainsmen and not at all averse to filling the ears of the tenderfoot with tales of numerous exploits and adventures in the Far West, such as fights with Indians and wild animals, stage robberies, etc., which, though deserving to be taken with many grains of salt, are at least novel and entertaining and serve to make the tedious trip less irksome.

After leaving Bell Springs the stage descends a rather long hill, and after having passed over a distance of about a mile, leaves the canon and emerges upon a vast level tract, known as "Separation Flat." Although fully five miles wide, it seems to the eye to have only a fraction of that width. The road runs directly across it passing over

Separation Creek on a small bridge. By the way, the writer has never seen any water in this so-called creek.

To the right and left the immense flat extends as far as the eye can reach; to the west it expands into the well known "Red Desert," an immense, bare, broken and waterless plain, the soil and rocks of which in many places are reddish in color, and in the most inaccessible recesses of which a small band of wild buffaloes is said to be occasionally seen, the last survivors of the millions of these animals, which but a few years ago roamed unmolested over the plains. To the east it extends with a gentle and imperceptible slope to the North Platte. In unusually wet seasons the flat has been known to be covered with water to the depth of several inches, but generally the road across it is quite good, especially for a bicycle, the soil being for the most part what is known as "gumbo."

On leaving the flat, the road, always leading to the northwest, becomes more sandy and the aspect of the country, if possible, more dreary and desolate. It is quite uneven too, and the stage laboriously toils up hill after hill, and rolls slowly down into the intervening gullies, in a thick bed of fine sand.

In dry weather, the sand being whirled up by the wheels, and raised by every gust of wind, soon covers stage horses, driver and passengers with a thick coating of dust. Huge reefs of sandstone, tipped up at a high angle, are seen in almost every direction. For several hundred yards the road passes along the base of one of these, which would furnish building stone enough for the City of Greater New York. About ten miles out from Bell Springs, the down stage is met and the drivers both rein up and spend a moment in the exchange of news, after which, each rolls slowly along again on its way. At two o'clock or a little earlier the second station, known universally as Bull Springs, is reached and a halt of about half an hour is made for dinner.

Bull Springs station consists of a log house and a stable of the same, placed each on one side of the road. There is a well here from which moderately good water is drawn for the horses and for household purposes, but the spring from which the station takes its name is about two miles to the west, at the base of a range of hills and the road does not go near it. The station is kept by a man and his wife, the former attending to the horses and the latter keeping the house and preparing the meals for the drivers and passengers; a more desolate and dreary place than Bull Springs station would be hard to find anywhere. It is placed on a sandy plain, fronting east with a low range of hills

about two miles behind it and the desolate, level, sage brush covered plain extending in front.

The Ferris mountains are on the eastern horizon—a chain of quite lofty mountains, black, bare and forbidding but along their base streaks of dazzling white, having the appearance of snow, will be noticed; they are banks of light, shifting sands; the sides of the mountains are gashed and seamed with ravines, along the walls of which scattered clumps of stunted pine and cedars stand out on the rocks behind. These mountains seem to be only a few miles away, such is the clearness of the atmosphere of the desert but in reality they are twenty miles distant from the station.

The meal that will be set before the hungry traveler will be found rather substantial than elaborate—the standard dishes of the plains, beef, bread, and canned vegetables will be served with but little attempt at display, and a cup of strong coffee or tea will terminate the repast. Water from the well will be seen on the table but even the seasoned aborigines pronounce it not good and the passenger had better not drink of it. A charge of fifty cents is made for the meal and the stage (the horses having again been changed) is soon under way again. Bull Springs is twenty-seven and one-half miles from Rawlins and has an elevation above the sea of 6700 feet.

From this station to the next, Lost Soldier, the road gradually nears the mountains and is an almost continuous rise, about fifty feet to the mile. The country becomes more sandy and occasionally for quite a long distance the coach will rumble over a bed of ground covered with smooth pebbles. Black desolate looking hills with steep sides will be noticed in the distance. The plain's name for these is "buttes" and the traveler will seldom be out of sight of several of them during this journey. None of the immense reefs of sandstone will be seen; the road bears still closer to the hills, and after having passed over a distance of twelve miles in about two hours and a half the buildings of Bohack's Ranch will be reached. The stage will make no stop here but passes close to the house. Poor Bohack! We knew him well! Many are the times that we have feasted at his bounteous board and reposed upon his beds of soft down. His cooking might not have suited Lucullus, but his fare was abundant and appetite made it equal to the best. 'Tis now about six months since he fell from a loaded wagon and was instantly crushed to death. Peace to his ashes!

A small stream trickles from the mountains here and runs a short distance out into the desert before it is swallowed up by the thirsty sand. On its banks the ranch buildings are placed. They consist of a good log house,

barn, corrals, sheep shearing pens, etc. If the traveler has time he can well employ a few moments in visiting a fine spring which is situated a hundred yards down the creek. The water gushes out filled with some kind of gas, the large bubbles of which rise through the water and burst on the surface. There is a vein of unusually good coal near the ranch and some day will be found valuable, although at present it is too remote from the railroad to admit of its being mined to any extent. At shearing time Bohack's ranch is a busy place—many sheep are deprived of their fleecy covering there by hands of shearers who travel from ranch to ranch in wagons. The sheep are dipped in a strong liquid to eradicate scab. These industries and the entertainment of transient visitors for a reasonable consideration form the means of support of Mr. Herman Bohack.

It may be said also, in passing, that indications of mineral oil have been discovered in this vicinity, as yet undeveloped but possibly they may be in the future.

Leaving Bohack's, the road veers slightly to the left or north and ascends the little Lost Soldier Creek towards the depression known as Crooks Gap, in which the next stage station, called Crooks is situated. This gap gives a low crossing of the water shed or summit in the Green Mountains which separate the waters of the Sweetwater from those of the North Platte. The Green Mountains, so called, are merely hills of no very great elevation and the summit is a wide flat with gently rolling sage covered hills on each side.

In the gap are situated the buildings of Crooks station—the stable to the left of the road and the house of the stock tender to its right, both built of logs. The stage will arrive there at about 6:00 o'clock p. m. and the traveler can get his supper there if he so desires, the stock tender being the holder of all the offices, viz., hostler, housekeeper and cook; the food will be found substantial but absolutely destitute of all frills. After a stay of perhaps half an hour the stage goes on, now descending a gentle slope towards the Sweetwater. Distance from Rawlins about forty-five miles.

Just as night is falling Mrs. Fisher's ranch will be seen to the right about a quarter of a mile from the road. Mrs. Fisher has quite an establishment of log buildings, corrals, etc., in the midst of a large pasture enclosed by a wire fence. In case a belated traveler finds it necessary to take refuge there he will find it a very comfortable place to pass the night. The stage is now following a small stream called Crooks Creek, a tributary of the Sweetwater, which is crossed on a bridge about two miles beyond Mrs. Fisher's. About four miles beyond Mrs. Fisher's the road crosses a

small tributary of Crooks Creek—there is no bridge and if the journey is made in winter and the creek is frozen, the crossing will be difficult.

Seven or eight miles farther on the buildings of Rongis, otherwise known as "The Home Station," situated on the north bank of the Sweetwater River, will be reached. Here is a building of two stories, a post-office, a store and a blacksmith shop, quite a settlement. A man named Signor once lived here and the place got its name by taking his name and turning it backwards. The Sweetwater is here at usual stages, about twenty feet wide and running with a good current. All around is a rolling, sage covered plain with the Green Mountains several miles to the west and the low hills bordering the river to the east.

Back up against the mountains, a ranch can be seen, which has a thriving appearance—it is said that a man named Hoppin or Hopper, lives there, and one of the men at the Home Ranch thinks that the stage route from that point to Rawlins should be changed so as to cross the Green Mountains somewhere near Hoppin's and meet the old road at Bull Springs, leaving Lost Soldier to the left and thus saving several miles of distance.

The old emigrant route to Oregon which was used so extensively in the 1840's, followed the course of the Sweetwater up stream and with frequent crossings, in a north-westerly direction to South Pass, where it crossed the Rocky Mountains. At the Home Ranch the road leaves the river and cuts across a bend in it, meeting it again at Sweetwater Bridge or Gate's Ranch about 7 miles distant from the Home Ranch. The bridge is a solid structure made of logs with abutments of the same and plank flooring supported on posts or piles driven in the stream which is here about 30 feet wide. Gate's Ranch has a rather unsavory reputation—liquor is sold here and generally several tough characters, more or less drunk, are hanging about the place. The stage horses are not changed here, but after crossing on the bridge, the stage goes on to the next station, called Meyersville, about 3 miles up the river on its northern bank. At Meyersville the road turns north towards the next station, called Hailey. For about five miles it leads across the sage covered plain to the brink of the tremendous descent of Beaver Hill, down which the road leads to Hailey. This hill (most people would call it a mountain) is about five miles long and very steep, especially at the top. From the summit a fine view can be had of the mountains to the left and of the valley of Beaver Creek. A strong wind is usually blowing and it is necessary to exercise great care in driving down the hill. Crossing the creek on a bridge, the stage

arrives at Hailey on its northern bank. A road ranch is kept by Mr. Signor, (the same who gave his name to Rongis), with all the appurtenances—saloon, bunk house, etc.

Mr. George Berry, proprietor of the stage line, has a stock tender here to attend to his spare stock and change the stage horses—so that there is quite a group of buildings in the station. Hailey is a place much visited by the sheep men to shear and dip their sheep and at the proper season many of them assemble there. Much wool is shipped by bull team from here to Casper along the road leading down the creek. Not far up the creek from Hailey is a fine hot spring which affords a good hot bath to anyone desiring it.

It may be stated also, that from Rongis, a road leads down the Sweetwater to Casper and that a stage called the Cannon Ball traverses it between these places once or twice a week.

From Hailey, the road, still in a northwesterly direction, keeps on toward the next station, Derby, through a different sort of country—the road is heavy with red clay mud in winter and red clay dust in summer. Up along hill and over divide to Hall Creek, a small stream. Thence over another divide to the Big Bend of Twin Creek which it follows down to Derby and the east bank of the creek, which here runs through a valley bordered by steep grim rocks on the east. Near here are many indications of oil and some prospecting for it has been done as shown by a tall derrick that has been left standing—they say that the oil is there but the well has been sealed and held in reserve until such time as transportation, etc., necessary for working it, shall be provided. The ranch at Derby is owned by an Englishman named Birkumshaw and the people living in it are all English and only recently arrived from the old country.

About five miles beyond Derby the road crosses the Little Popo Agie River on a good bridge and continue on towards Lander. The water of the Little Popo Agie is pure, clear mountain water, the first really good drinking water found since leaving Rawlins. A few miles down the river is a well known oil spring which is believed to be the one mentioned by Captain Bonneville in his account of his travels in the west in the early part of this century. The oil oozes out of the sand rock and is a heavy oil of good quality much used by ranchers as a lubricant for horse powers, reapers, etc. The spring is the property of eastern parties, who intend to develop it in the future. At present it is under the charge of Mr. Michael Murphy as caretaker. The road is now good but apt to be heavy in wet weather. A fine ranch owned by Mr. Reed is situated about ten miles

from Derby and on the west side of the road. Mr. Reed can furnish comfortable entertainment to any traveler needing it.

The road leads on generally between wire fences and over a low divide to the main Popo Agie River, about fifteen miles from Derby. It is crossed on a bridge just at the southern edge of the village of Lander, the county seat of Fremont County. Lander is an attractive little town of about 1000 inhabitants located in a fertile and productive country, although not very large, and being so far from any railroad, it shapes its manner of living according to its own resources without much heed to any others. Communication with the outside world is generally made by the stage road to Rawlins, although there is some travel to and from Casper. On the bank of the Popo Agie at the entrance to the town is the flour mill of Mr. J. D. Woodruff, one of the leading citizens, and continuing up the main street, which is also the stage road, several other large mercantile establishments, the banks of Noble and Lane and of Mr. Amorette, the Lander Hotel owned by Mr. Jerry Shehan, the court house and jail—fine brick buildings—are passed. If court is in session, Judge Jesse Knight will be the presiding judge and Mr. Richard Morse, the sheriff with Messrs. E. H. Fourn and J. S. Vidal, the leading lawyers, generally opposed to each other.

From Lander to the Shoshone agency the road continues on nearly northwest for about fifteen miles over a moderately rolling country but with no steep hills and with the lofty foothills of the Rocky Mountains several miles to the left. Two small creeks, Squaw Creek and Baldwin Creek, tributaries of the Popo Agie, will be forded and finally about six miles from Lander, the North Fork of the Popo Agie will be forded. This creek forms the southern boundary of the Shoshone Indian Reservation—sometimes called the Wind River Reservation—of the Shoshone and Northern Arapahoe Indians. It is an immense track with limits not very accurately defined but containing something like 2500 square miles of land, mostly rolling sage covered upland but also the valleys of the Big Wind and Little Wind Rivers, which form some of the best agricultural land in Wyoming.

After fording the North Fork, and following the road for about six miles the buildings of the agency, and the Wind River Boarding School will be seen, situated in the valley of Little Wind River with the little military post of Fort Washakie a mile farther on. The Agency buildings are located on the banks of a small creek called Trout Creek. To the right are the agency stone houses and offices, an Episcopal Church conducted by the Reverend John

Roberts, the trade store of Mr. A. D. Lane and other buildings occupied by agency employes. To the left is the agency saw and flour mill, the blacksmith shop, and farther up the creek, the agent's house, with a flag pole in front of it from which the Stars and Stripes are waving. Arranged in a line are the log houses occupied by agency employes. The employes consist at present of Mr. Thomas R. Beason, Ass't Clerk, Col. John W. Clark, Allotting Agent, Dr. F. H. Welty, Agency Physician, Mr. F. G. Burnett, Farmer of the Shoshones, Mr. G. W. Sheff, Engineer, Mr. L. S. Clark, Issue Clerk, and Mr. J. F. Ludin, Chief Clerk.

Most of the Shoshones live in log cabins located on their allotments along the base of the mountains and in the vicinity of the agency. The Arapahoes live farther down the valley of Little Wind River, below the mouth of Trout Creek and their Sub-Agency is located on Little Wind River, near the mouth of the Popo Agie, where Mr. J. C. Burnett, Indian Trader has a store. St. Stephen's Mission for Arapahoe girls and boys is about five miles farther down. It is conducted by the Rev. Balthasar Feusi, S. J., and about ten sisters of the order of St. Francis. An Episcopal mission for Shoshone girls about three miles above the main agency is conducted by the Rev. John Roberts. The Wind River Boarding School for boys and girls of both tribes is a government school conducted by Mr. W. P. Campbell and is located three miles below the agency. It accommodates about 250 pupils. There are about 1700 Indians in the two tribes, about 850 in each.

The distance from Rawlins to the Agency has been roughly estimated at 133 miles and the stage traverses it ordinarily in about 24 hours—at all times a very fatiguing and uncomfortable trip and in winter it is a positive hardship.

The annual output of charcoal at Piedmont, Wyoming, in 1877 was 300,000 bushels.

The first homestead entry in Wyoming to be filed with the Land Office, is said to have been made by Walter D. Pease on December 6, 1870 on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 20, Tp. 14 N, R. 67 W. Pease received his patent seven years later.

During highwater time in the early days of Wyoming, Frank Earnest and Ed Bennett often collected \$300.00 a day from their ferry at the North Platte Crossing below Saratoga. Their charge was \$5.00 a wagon.



Joseph M. Carey

The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Political Power in Wyoming Territory 1873-1890 *

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON**

Of all the states and territories in the "Cattle Kingdom" Wyoming was the most typical. The ranchers in that frontier society of the 1870's created a powerful association known as the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association for the protection of their economic and political interests. Through its large membership and closely knit organization this group became the official spokesman for the cattle business.¹ Moreover, the laws of the range and the social pattern of the area were prescribed so completely by the decisions of the association that Wyoming has commonly been referred to as the "Cattleman's Commonwealth."² The association never could have exerted such influence in territorial Wyoming if it had not entered the field of politics. It was inevitable that the association should become a power in lawmaking because the leading men of the territory were among its members.³ The territorial legislature during the

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**For Professor Jackson's biography see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15:2:143. During the summer of 1944 Prof. Jackson taught at the University of Michigan, in 1945 at the University of Wyoming, in 1946 in the Institute of American Studies at the University of Minnesota and in 1947 at the University of Texas. He has recently been appointed Assistant Professor of American History at the University of Chicago. He will take up residence at the University of Chicago in the spring, where his work will be in the field of the Trans-Mississippi West.

¹Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), 135-37, 154-58; Louis Pelzer, "A Cattleman's Commonwealth On the Western Range," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XIII (June, 1926), 30-49. This survey of the organization and activities of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, with editorial revisions, was reprinted as a chapter in Louis Pelzer, *The Cattleman's Frontier: A Record of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Industry from Oxen Trains to Pooling Companies, 1850-1890* (Glendale, 1936), 87-115.

²Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 30-49.

³*Ibid.*, 47.

decade of the 1880's did reflect the will of the association, but important territorial officials, such as the governor and secretary, who were sent to the "Cattlemen's Commonwealth" by the federal government, were in a position to delay legislation, if not prohibit it, long enough to thwart the desires of the executive committee of the stock growers. Therefore, during the territorial period the cattlemen not only had to send their spokesmen to the legislative assembly to get laws passed or amended, but also to encourage tactfully the support of the chief executive's office in recommending and approving stock legislation. In both of these activities they were so successful, through the association, that the organization was generally considered the *de facto* territorial government. It will be of interest to survey the nature and extent of this political control.

Fortunately for the ranchers, John A. Campbell, the first territorial governor of Wyoming who served from 1869 to 1875, recognized the importance of the cattle business. He declared before the first assembly of lawmakers, "it would seem superfluous to say anything in relation to our advantages as a stockgrowing country, or the wisdom and propriety of passing such laws as will give protection to herds and flocks."⁴ During May, 1871, Campbell sponsored the first organization of cattlemen in the territory and became the president of this Wyoming Stock Grazier's Association. When the second legislature assembled at Cheyenne in November, 1871, the Governor called a simultaneous meeting of the stock growers, and a joint session was held in the hall of the house of representatives.⁵ After several addresses upon the subject of the livestock industry and its importance to Wyoming, the association adjourned its meeting and the legislators passed a bill for the "Protection of Stock in Wyoming Territory, and to Punish Certain Offenses Concerning the Same."⁶

The Governor's cattle organization soon went out of existence, but on November 29, 1873, there was held in Cheyenne the initial meeting of the Laramie County Stock Association which became the nucleus of the Wyoming

⁴Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869 (Cheyenne, 1869). The University of Wyoming Library has a bound volume of messages of the territorial governors, published contemporaneously in pamphlet form.

⁵Agnes W. Spring, *Seventy Years Cow Country* (Cheyenne, 1942), 21-22. The files of the Cheyenne *Daily Leader* provide the source material upon which this account of the first Wyoming association is based.

⁶*General Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Wyoming, passed at the Second Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Cheyenne, 1872), 89-91. Title varies; cited hereafter by appropriate short title.

Stock Growers' Association. At this first session, the association revealed that one of its primary purposes was political because the entire minutes deal with legislative matters. "On motion of T. A. Kent it was resolved to present a Bill for the better protection of the stock and stock interests of Laramie county," and on the motion of William L. Kuykendall a committee of five was appointed to draft a law to present at the session of the legislature which had just convened.⁷ The Governor delivered a keynote address to the third assembly recommending legislation to aid the cattle industry and reminded the representatives that "It is our duty to foster this great and growing interest by every means in our power, and we cannot afford to permit it to be crippled."⁸ The lawmakers responded by passing a comprehensive act "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock." Cattle and horses were not to run at large, and any person driving stock through Wyoming was to keep his cattle from mixing with those of resident stockmen. Moreover, a drover responsible for driving stock from its accustomed range against the will of any owner was liable for indictment for larceny.⁹ This law, with subsequent amendments, provided the basic legal requirements for the handling of stock on the Wyoming range.

The stock growers' association was well represented in the subsequent territorial legislative assemblies that convened between 1875 and 1890. These lawmaking bodies were never large. The number of representatives attending the fourth through the eleventh sessions of the house fluctuated between twenty and twenty-seven;¹⁰ thirteen councilmen composed the upper chamber in 1875 and 1877, but after that date the membership was stabilized at twelve until the close of the territorial period.¹¹ Although the

⁷Proceedings, November 29, 1873-November 9, 1883, Laramie County Stock Association Minute Book (University of Wyoming Library). Miss Lola M. Homsher, archivist, assisted the writer in making available this and other material in the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers, deposited in the University of Wyoming Library.

⁸*Message of Governor Campbell to the Third Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1873* (Cheyenne, 1873).

⁹*Wyoming General Laws, 1873*, pp. 223-26.

¹⁰This estimate is based upon the membership lists published in *House Journal of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2, 1875* (Cheyenne, 1875), and succeeding assemblies through the eleventh. Cited hereafter as *Wyoming House Journal*.

¹¹*Council Journal of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2, 1875* (Cheyenne, 1875). Cited hereafter as *Wyoming Council Journal*. Membership lists were checked in the *Journal* of each session of the council.

Laramie County Stock Association had become an active political organization in the first two years of its existence and several leaders secured seats in the legislature of 1875, its influence was not dominant prior to 1882. Cheyenne, which was the headquarters of the stock association as well as the territorial capital, provided the essential core for organization within the legislature. Three of the four Laramie County councilmen of 1875 were from this city and were among the founders of the stock association.¹² In the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions of the house of representatives, 1875-1879, the association had at least one spokesman who had either served on the committee establishing the cattleman's organization or held a high position in its councils.¹³

At the annual association meeting in Cheyenne, March, 1879, the Laramie County organization assumed the name of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and announced a program whereby its influence would be extended throughout the territory. Between 1879 and 1882 its membership increased from 85 to 195. These were the years of rapid expansion in the range cattle business, and when the seventh legislative assembly convened in 1882 the association had reached its maturity as a political pressure group.¹⁴ The association members elected from Laramie County now obtained support from other sections of the territory. Fifty per cent of the councilmen in 1882 were stockmen and at least a third were members of the Wyoming association.¹⁵ Ora Haley, who represented Laramie City, was a founder of the Albany County Stock Growers' Association which remained separate from the larger organization until 1883, but his concern in passing adequate stock laws was identical with that of the other five. In the house the range industry was represented by five association members from

¹²Hiram B. Kelly, William L. Kuykendall, and G. A. Searight. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1875, p. 4.

¹³Alexander H. Reel in the 1875 house; John F. Coad in 1877; William C. Irvine in 1879.

¹⁴Wyoming legislatures before 1879 convened in November of odd numbered years; for uniformity the session date was changed to January of even years starting in 1882. This practice continued to the close of the territorial period. Legislatures of the state of Wyoming convene in odd years.

¹⁵Irvine, Reel, Thomas Sturgis, Ora Haley, Perry L. Smith, and William W. Corlett. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1882, p. 3; *By-Laws, Secretary's Report, Resolutions and List of Members in the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Laws of Wyoming to Protect the Stock Growers* (Cheyenne, 1882). The membership of each council and house has been compared with the association's published membership lists to determine the legislators belonging to the stock growers' organization.

Laramie and Carbon counties.¹⁶ In the eighth legislative council, 1884, the association retained 50 per cent of the seats through the election of cattlemen from Laramie, Carbon, and Uinta counties.¹⁷ There was no reduction in the number of organized stock owners in this session of the house, and the delegation representing Laramie County was particularly active and influential.¹⁸

When the ninth legislative assembly of the territory convened in January, 1886, the legislators belonging to the stock association were fewer than in the 1882 and 1884 assemblies. This may be explained by the fact that the association was not sponsoring a major piece of legislation as in the two previous sessions.¹⁹ In place of the six cattlemen formerly in the council there were only three.²⁰ If the stock interests were growing complacent concerning the need for political action to preserve their power, the disastrous years of 1885-1887 revealed the necessity for unity. Two severe winters destroyed most of the herds on the open range and greatly reduced the wealth of the association's membership. In the tenth legislative assembly, association members again claimed half the seats in the council, and six places in the house were held by representatives from the stockmen of Laramie, Carbon, and Sweetwater counties.²¹ The last Wyoming legislature of the territorial period assembled in January, 1890, and association members were more numerous than ever before. Eight of the twelve councilmen were affiliated with the territorial stock association;²² Laramie, Albany, Carbon, Uinta, Fremont, and Sweetwater counties included stockmen in their delegations.

Between 1873 and 1890 the most active ranchers in the Wyoming cattle industry and leaders in its organization were called upon to serve in the legislature. Three council-

¹⁶Harry Oelrichs, Andrew Gilchrist, William C. Lane, J. S. Jones, and E. W. Bennett. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1882, pp. 3-4.

¹⁷Irvine, Bennett, Philip Dater, A. T. Babbitt, Francis E. Warren, A. V. Quinn. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1884, p. 3.

¹⁸From Laramie County there were Coad, Hubert E. Teschemacher, and J. Howard Ford. Two Carbon County members, L. Quealy and William H. Weaver, brought the total membership to five. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1884, p. 3.

¹⁹Quarantine bill of 1882; "Maverick" bill of 1884.

²⁰Teschemacher, Ford, and Charles W. Wright. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1886, pp. 3, 10.

²¹Kuykendall, W. S. Weaver, Thomas B. Adams, Edward T. Duffy, Charles E. Blydenburg, and James C. Scrivener. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1888, p. 3.

²²Reel, Colin Hunter, John McGill, Tim. Kinney, Charles A. Campbell, Robert M. Galbraith, Andrew B. Liggett, Mike H. Murphy. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1890, pp. 3, 5.

men of 1875, Kuykendall, Hiram B. Kelly, and G. A. Seagrigh, were all instigators of the cattleman's organization. Kuykendall had served as secretary and treasurer of the association since its inception, had been a member of the committee to draft its rules and regulations in 1873, and had signed the organization agreement the following year. Two more association founders, Alexander H. Reel and John F. Coad, had extended legislative careers. Reel served in the house of 1875 and moved to the council for the sessions of 1879 and 1882;²³ Coad was a member of the house in 1877 and again in 1884. Alexander H. Swan, while president of the stock association, was an active councilman in 1877.²⁴ In the following council Swan was succeeded by his brother Thomas with whom he was associated in the Swan Land and Cattle Company; and in the house of representatives of this session stock interests were promoted by William C. Irvine, a newcomer to the association who was destined to have an important future role as its roundup foreman, a member of the executive committee, a trustee, treasurer, and president. Irvine also served as councilman in 1882 and 1884. Thomas Sturgis, association secretary and one of the paramount organizers of the cattle interests in the United States, directed the association members in the council of the seventh legislative assembly, 1882, and the delegation in the house of this year was advised by C. W. Riner, a member of the law firm of Corlett, Lacey, and Riner, legal counsel for the association. A wealthy stockman of the territory who was to become governor and senator, Francis E. Warren, sat in the council of 1884. Hubert E. Teschemacher, a member of the executive committee of the association between 1883 and 1892, was a representative in 1884 and a councilman in 1886.²⁵ Thomas B. Adams, who followed Sturgis as association secretary, was elected to the house of representatives in 1888 and promoted to the council in the final territorial session of 1890. Many other association members followed these leaders in promoting laws to preserve the prosperity of the stockmen of Wyoming.

As in most lawmaking bodies, the Wyoming territorial assemblies referred all bills introduced into the council or house to standing committees for review and recommenda-

²³Reel was to serve as treasurer of the association, 1876-1889; on the executive committee, 1891-1900; and as trustee, 1884-1885.

²⁴Membership Book, 1874-1881, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. This record includes an alphabetical list of the earliest members of the Laramie County Stock Association, recording the dates of their elections, positions held, and dues paid.

²⁵*By-Laws, Secretary's Report, Resolutions and List of Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Laws of Wyoming to Protect the Stock Growers*, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1886.

tion. Association members secured appointments to committees which were to scrutinize all stock legislation and thereby were more effective than their numbers would have warranted. From 1875 to 1890 the council committee on stock, stock laws, and brands had an association member as chairman. Association men comprised a majority of its membership in the 1882 session; in 1890, all five members of the committee were organized stockmen. Searight, Swan, Sturgis, and Teschemacher were among those who served as committee chairmen, and it was seldom that legislation adverse to the association was presented to the council for final consideration. Association-sponsored measures were invariably and speedily endorsed. In the house the cattlemen had a similar control over the committee on stock raising and stock laws; only in the session of 1886 was a nonassociation member named as chairman.

The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association encouraged the passage of all laws that would foster the range cattle industry. Although all cattlemen in Wyoming were affected by much of the legislation which it sponsored, the primary object of the association was to maintain the prosperity of its own membership. To achieve this end, the organization proposed the enactment of legislation that would place it in an advisory position to county and territorial officials. Furthermore, the association's executive committee became a bill-drafting agency for stock laws, its legal counsel prepared the final draft of many bills introduced into the assembly, and the members of the association's legislative committee, appointed from time to time, were likewise members of the territorial legislature.

When the 1875 assembly convened, the act "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock," enacted two years earlier, was amended to permit county commissioners to appoint detectives to discover violations of the stock laws and to pay them from the county treasury. These detectives were to be selected only upon the *recommendation* of the county cattle organizations.²⁶ The advisory role of the stock association was further recognized in the 1877 legislature when jurisdiction over the recording of brands was transferred from county clerks to a committee of three, two of whom were to be representative stockmen. These new committees were to review all previously issued brands and in case of duplication to determine the lawful user.²⁷

Discussion at the annual meeting of the stock growers in 1879 revealed a concern in expanding the range cattle

²⁶*Compiled Laws of Wyoming*, 1876 (Cheyenne, 1876), Chap. 105, p. 542.

²⁷*Wyoming Session Laws*, 1877, pp. 125-26.

industry through further territorial legislation as shown by the following excerpt from the minutes:

Resolution Sturgis. That our Executive com [mittee] is instructed to obtain from the Legislature at its next meeting an enactment making it obligatory upon any man who shall hereafter turn out female neat cattle within this Territory to place with them at the time when turned out not less than 5 servicable bulls . . . for every 100 head of female cattle two years old and upwards

Further that there shall be attached to such Act a substantial penalty for each violation.

Further that this is the unanimous sense of this Asso. Adopted.²⁸

Two years later at the spring meeting of the association the primary interest was in the protection of the range from contagious cattle diseases which had broken out in the East. A resolution was adopted providing that the executive committee should appoint a special committee to draw up a bill providing for the extermination of pleuropneumonia and other contagious diseases to be presented to the 1882 session of the territorial legislature.²⁹ Sturgis took a prominent part in the discussions which followed, was named on the committee, and in counsel with legal advisers drafted the so-called quarantine bill. Shortly after the legislative session was organized, Sturgis and Andrew Gilchrist, chairmen of the council and house committees on stock law, reported identical bills out of their committees with the recommendation of immediate passage. "An Act to Suppress and Prevent the Dissemination of Contagious and Infectious Diseases among Domestic Animals" was soon on the statute books.³⁰ This legislation was laudatory in its attempt to check the spread of disease among the cattle of the territory. The association, however, made certain that the desires of its organization would be respected in the enforcement of the law because the territorial veterinarian who was to investigate cases of disease, inspect cattle arriving in the territory, and quarantine infected areas was to be named by the governor upon the *recommendation* of the association. When there was evidence of disease outside the territory, the association was

²⁸Minute Book, March 29, 1879.

²⁹*Ibid.*, April 4, 1881

³⁰C. F. No. 9 was introduced by Sturgis, January 23, 1882, and H. B. No. 3 by Gilchrist, January 24, 1882. Governor John W. Hoyt signed the bill on March 8, 1882.

to inform the governor who was required by the law to issue a proclamation excluding cattle from states or counties infected.³¹

The association began to make plans in the summer of 1883 for the meeting of the eighth legislative assembly which was to convene in January of the following year. A legislative committee to recommend amendments to the stock laws again was appointed. At a special meeting in November the report of the committee was discussed and a series of resolutions adopted by the cattlemen, one of which instructed the executive committee to draft a bill for the proper distribution of stray neat cattle and mavericks. The association unanimously went on record as opposed to the branding of calves on the range between the first day of January and the commencement of the general spring roundup and called upon the legislature to carry out the spirit of this resolution. The members further authorized the executive committee to prepare any statements about the annual roundup which it felt desirable to submit to the lawmakers, and referred to it for action all amendments to the stock laws as recommended by the legislative committee.³²

All three members of the legislative committee of the stock growers' association named in July sat in the eighth council. A. T. Babbitt, chairman of the committee, was likewise chairman of the council committee on stock laws and brands, but he possessed the good taste to permit a nonassociation member to present the "Maverick Bill" to the council with his committee's approval.³³ This law proposed to give the association complete responsibility for supervising the roundup of cattle. All mavericks were to be branded by the association, sold to the highest bidder, and proceeds turned over to the association's treasury with the understanding that it was to be used to pay cattle inspectors. The law provided also that all persons directly interested in the business of raising cattle and who could meet the qualifications established by the association's by-laws should be admitted to membership. The association was thus to become a quasi-official institution with legal control over the stock industry and the power to enforce its will. If this law passed, there was to be virtually a merger of the territorial government and the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association for the regulation of the range.³⁴

³¹*Laws of Wyoming Territory*, 1882, pp. 81-88.

³²Minute Book, July 2, November 9, 1883.

³³C. F. No. 2, *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1884, p. 19.

³⁴*Wyoming Session Laws*, 1884, pp. 148-52; Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, 135-37; Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 39-41.

All members of the Wyoming association did not approve of such drastic action because it would have been next to impossible for a stockman to operate successfully as a non-member. Every rancher would be forced into the association and any recalcitrant member could be disciplined by the organization. Word was received by Sturgis that Alexander H. Swan opposed the legislation and the Secretary wired him about this report and questioned his loyalty to the plans of the association.³⁵ Swan wired an emphatic reply:

I never agreed to support the Maverick Bill. Never read it until after leaving Cheyenne. Am ready to give full support to any measure which will give justice to cattle owners. Do not consider present bill just in its provisions, and if passed will be unsatisfactory in results. Have not changed my mind as to the bill in its present form.³⁶

The association men were sufficiently numerous in the council to pass the bill as drafted by their legislative committee but the division in the house of representatives was so close that a "substitute bill" was introduced incorporating minor changes. During the discussion a representative from Sweetwater County displayed in the house a shrouded miniature coffin, sent to him by constituents, containing a copy of the bill with the message, "The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association made it. We have coffined it. Now let the eighth legislative assembly bury, and woe, woe, woe to those who shall resurrect it."³⁷ When the bill came up for final passage the association had the necessary majority, and Governor William Hale, already committed to the organization, approved of this measure which was of paramount importance in the history of Wyoming.

Upon the convoking of the ninth legislature in January, 1886, the executive committee of the association called a special meeting to discuss the stock legislation which should be pushed through the session. J. Howard Ford and Charles A. Guernsey, association men from the council and house of representatives, were invited guests. Amendments to

³⁵Robert Marsh to Sturgis, March 2, 1884, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Incoming correspondence is filed in letter boxes alphabetically according to the names of correspondents. There are from one to six letter boxes for each year. Outgoing communications of the secretary are kept in letter press books and arranged chronologically. All correspondence is available in the Archives of the University of Wyoming Library.

³⁶Alexander H. Swan to Joseph M. Carey or Sturgis, March 2, 1884, *ibid.*

³⁷C. W. Crowley, John Lee, and David J. Jones to Herman G. Nickerson, February 29, 1884, *ibid.*

the veterinary bill were agreed upon and the legal counsel instructed to embody the substance into a bill for presentation to the legislature. Two days later the executive committee assembled again to endorse this legislation, and it was further agreed to draft a bill legalizing the assessments levied by the association. Several other laws were prepared and the association members in the legislature were instructed to inform their colleagues that the executive committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association wanted the territorial stock laws codified during 1887. Before adjournment Teschemacher was named a committee of one to supply the cattlemen's headquarters with printed copies of all stock laws introduced into either branch of the legislature.³⁸ This meeting of the executive committee perhaps demonstrated to the fullest extent its bill-drafting activities.

Those outside the association protested such procedures in vain; the editor of the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* whose leading editorial of January 24, 1886, had criticized the actions of the association was requested to appear before the executive committee at once to make explanation and he complied with the request. Committees were appointed to call upon editors of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* and the *Laramie Daily Boomerang* in regard to their policies toward the association. The executive committee recorded its regret at this feeling of antagonism toward the association by both Republican and Democratic editors, and was apparently prepared to stifle criticism.³⁹

In its enthusiasm for fostering the cattle business, the association at times antagonized other economic interests in the territory by prescribing limitations and establishing requirements on their activities. An example is provided by the legal restrictions on the railroads. As early as 1875 the legislature had made railroads liable for all stock killed by trains. If the owner of the animal was known, the railroad was to notify him within ten days after his cattle were killed; if he was unknown, a record of the cattle brand was to be filed with the county clerk. Railroads failing to give such notification were liable to double indemnity. Moreover, any person who had stock killed was to notify the railway agent of its value, and the railroad had to pay two-thirds of the value to be released under the act.⁴⁰

³⁸Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, July 14, 1885, to April 5, 1911, January 23, 25, 1886, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Cited hereafter as Minutes of the Executive Committee.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Compiled Laws of Wyoming*, 1876, Chap. 105, p. 544.

A continuous fear of the stock association was the possibility of an outbreak of fires on the range, and the legislature of 1886 made the railroads responsible for plowing a six-foot strip along their tracks to serve as a fireguard. County commissioners were to determine where it was essential to construct a fireguard and notify the railroad by June 1 of each year. The work was to be completed by September 1. The railroads were liable for a \$100 fine for every mile or fraction thereof not properly plowed; in case of fire caused by failure to comply with the law the railroads were liable for the entire damage caused.⁴¹

The influence of the stock growers' association in securing the enactment of laws to protect the cattle business was not confined to Wyoming. Having obtained a powerful voice in the territorial legislature by 1882, the association voted in its annual meeting to extend its influence to near-by states and territories and instructed its president to appoint a committee of one or more members to go to Nebraska, Colorado, and Iowa during the next sessions of the state legislatures to work for the passage of quarantine bills similar to that passed in Wyoming.⁴² Sturgis corresponded with the Iowa State Agricultural Society and with the Iowa Improved Stock Breeders Association relative to legislation in that state. It was reported that the 1882 Iowa legislature considered a quarantine measure, but the bill was "lumbered up" with so many details and extraneous provisions that it failed of passage.⁴³ The next session was to meet in January, 1884, when a committee from Wyoming would be welcome to assist in securing the law. John A. McShane, a Nebraska member of the Wyoming association, wrote Sturgis requesting copies of the veterinary bill to distribute among the Nebraska legislators who were to meet in extra session during May, 1882. No general legislation could be considered at this special session, but Sturgis forwarded 150 copies to McShane to acquaint the Nebraska lawmakers with the type of legislation desired during the next regular session in January, 1883.⁴⁴ Dakota members of the association appealed to Sturgis in 1887 for legal advice in drafting suitable stock laws to be presented to the Dakota legislature, and he suggested that they request the services of W. H. Parker, association attorney in Deadwood, who was

⁴¹Wyoming *Session Laws*, 1886, Chap. 50, pp. 106-107.

⁴²Minute Book, April 4, 1882.

⁴³Sturgis to John W. Porter, Iowa City, vice-president of the Iowa State Agricultural Society; Fitch B. Stacey, secretary of the Iowa Improved Stock Breeders Association, to Sturgis, March 31, 1882, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁴⁴John A. McShane to Sturgis, April 8, 16, 22, 29, 1882, *ibid.*

employed on retainer.⁴⁵ Later in the year, Secretary Adams wrote to a member of the board of directors of the Bank of America in New York for an introduction to political powers in St. Paul who could assist the association in securing a Minnesota law to facilitate cattle inspections by the Wyoming and Montana stock associations in that city.⁴⁶ Through the correspondence of its secretaries and the work of its visiting committees the Wyoming association continued to exert political influence outside the territory in the decade of the eighties.

In the election of 1884, the executive committee of the cattle growers became interested in the selection of the congressional delegate. Stockmen had sought the position prior to this year, and individual members had participated actively in the campaign, but the association had never officially endorsed a candidate. In 1880 the Republicans had nominated Alexander H. Swan and in spite of the fact that he refused to campaign extensively he came within 147 votes of election. Morton E. Post, the victor, was likewise interested in cattle and, although he was not an association member, his business activities were intertwined with those of two Republican members, Warren and Joseph Carey. Before the election of 1882 Post joined the association and won a decisive victory at the polls.⁴⁷ Toward the end of his second two-year term, he resolved not to seek re-election, but his business associate Carey, who had been defeated for the same position in 1874, was seeking the Republican nomination. Carey had joined the association in the seventies, served on its executive committee, and by 1883 had been chosen its president. He secured the Republican nomination in 1884 and after defeating William H. Holliday, the Democratic candidate, began his tenure as congressional delegate which was to last until the end of the territorial period.⁴⁸ Although the association did not endorse Carey officially for fear of dividing its membership into two political camps, some members of the executive committee campaigned for him so actively that they were accused of using association funds to secure Carey's election. At the meeting of the executive committee on July

⁴⁵Sturgis to Seth Bullock, January 5, 1887, *ibid.*

⁴⁶Adams to E. W. Corlies, August 18, 1887, *ibid.* The Wyoming association influenced legislation in at least eight states and territories, secured administrative decisions in Washington, D. C., through the congressional delegate, to aid the ranching interests, and was largely instrumental in proposing the national legislation creating the Bureau of Animal Industry.

⁴⁷Hubert H. Baneroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 750.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

14, 1885, a "statement [was] made to Com[mittee] that O. C. Waid had publicly stated in Rawlins to R. B. Conner, Joe Rankin, and others that the funds of the Assoc. had been corruptly and illegally used by the Exec. Com. during the last political campaign & especially to aid in the election of delegate."⁴⁹ Waid, a member of the association, was instructed to appear personally before the committee or to write an explanation regarding the charge. The case was closed by a reprimand to Waid for making statements which would bring discredit upon the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, but many continued to believe that the cattleman's organization had played too active a role in the election of the Republican candidate.

Between 1884 and 1887 Carey continued in his dual position of Wyoming's delegate to Congress and president of the territorial stock growers' association. He returned to Cheyenne on occasions to attend to personal and association affairs and as late as the campaign of 1888, after he had resigned the presidency of the association, the secretary of the organization was writing articles for the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* stating that the cattle business could best be served by Carey's re-election.⁵⁰

The territorial governors who followed Campbell continued to realize the importance of stock growing to Wyoming and through them the association obtained greater political recognition and influence. John M. Thayer succeeded Campbell in 1875, and although he failed to demonstrate the enthusiasm for ranching of his predecessor, he was by no means antagonistic to the cattlemen. Speaking before the legislative assembly of 1875, he emphasized the agricultural and mineral potentialities of the territory and the need of capital for manufacturing, but admitted that Wyoming was to "become one of the largest stockgrowing states in the Union."⁵¹ By the time the fifth legislature convened in 1877, Governor Thayer was indoctrinated by the cattlemen and, as is revealed in his message to the lawmakers, was an enthusiastic supporter of the stock interests. After admitting that stock raising was the leading economic activity of the territory, praising the advantages of the open range for fattening cattle, quoting statistics to point out the expansion of the industry and increased cattle ship-

⁴⁹Minutes of the Executive Committee, July 14, 1885.

⁵⁰James L. Smith to Adams, November 27, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Newspaper clippings attached to this correspondence in the incoming files of the association record the remarks of Adams.

⁵¹*Message of Governor Thayer to the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2nd, 1875* (Cheyenne, 1875).

ments, he concluded, "This, certainly, is a good exhibit for a portion of what was once regarded as the Great American Desert."⁵²

John W. Hoyt arrived in Wyoming the following year to serve as governor and the stockmen obtained another ally. In Wisconsin, Hoyt already had shown a tremendous interest in agricultural education and had edited the first significant agricultural journal in that state.⁵³ At the annual association meeting in 1879 he was the principal speaker and following his address was elected to honorary membership in the association.⁵⁴ His message to the legislative assembly a few months later indicated that he was well informed on the territorial cattle business and the specific, detailed recommendations relative to legislation revealed that he had received advice from the association's executive committee and lawyers.⁵⁵ Speaking before the 1882 legislature, Hoyt mentioned the "acknowledged supremacy of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association" which had a membership that "for numbers, high character and amount of capital employed is believed to be without rival in this or any country."⁵⁶

At the close of 1882 William Hale of Iowa replaced Hoyt as governor. The following year while in Washington he was called upon by the association to present before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the complaints of cattlemen that the Indian tribes from reservations near the northern and eastern boundaries of Wyoming were killing stock. Hale received assurances from the Commissioner that, if necessary, the military would be used to prevent further depredations.⁵⁷ At the annual meeting in April, Governor Hale and the territorial secretary, Elliott S. N. Morgan, were unanimously elected to honorary membership in the stock growers' organization. In the absence of Hale, Morgan made the speech of acceptance,⁵⁸ and throughout his term the Secretary attended the annual meetings of the cattle-

⁵²*Message of Governor Thayer to the Fifth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 6, 1877* (Cheyenne, 1877).

⁵³Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1922), 108-109.

⁵⁴Minute Book, March 29, 1879.

⁵⁵*Message of Governor Hoyt to the Sixth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1879* (Cheyenne, 1879).

⁵⁶*Message of John W. Hoyt, Governor of Wyoming, to the Seventh Legislative Assembly, January 12, 1882* (Cheyenne, 1882).

⁵⁷Spring, *Seventy Years Cow Country*, 75. The Arapahoes and Shoshone were located to the west, Crows on the north, and Sioux on the east.

⁵⁸Minute Book, April 3, 1883.

men and officially offered the assistance of his office to its executive committee.⁵⁹

In 1885 the Wyoming governorship was given for the first time to a resident of the territory when Warren, wealthy association member, was selected by President Chester A. Arthur. During Warren's administration there was complete cooperation between the territorial executive office and the stockmen's headquarters; the alliance was made complete by using Carey, the Governor's business partner, to represent the cattle interests in Washington. The brief statements in the minutes of the executive committee reveal the situation. The entry for a meeting on August 4, 1885, recorded the fact that "Gov. Warren [was] in attendance for consultation." Throughout the year, the Governor often attended discussions of the executive committee of the stock growers' association to learn its wishes concerning the enforcement of the quarantine law. One statement in the Minute Book reads, "Res. That we recommend to Gov. Warren the issuance of a revised proclamation modifying the quarantine restrictions regarding Mo. [Missouri]," and again, "Communication from Gov. Warren on subject of letter to Gov. Oglesby of Ills. on quarantine question. Com[mittee] decided to recommend removal of quarantine from all Co.'s [counties] in Ills. except Du Page."⁶⁰ At times Carey and Warren personally paid the bills for the publication of these quarantine proclamations protecting the Wyoming range. The executive committee instructed its secretary on at least one occasion to refund the amount expended by Carey and Warren for newspaper publication with the understanding that the cash would be returned by the Governor if the legislature could be persuaded to appropriate the necessary funds.⁶¹

At the annual spring meeting in 1885, the members of the association were in good spirits, the range cattle industry was flourishing, and the organization was aware of its potential political power; but there were men in Wyoming who bitterly resented the political influence of the association. This editorial in the *Rawlins Carbon County Journal* should have served as a warning:

⁵⁹Elliott S. N. Morgan to Sturgis, March 24, 1884, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶⁰Minutes of the Executive Committee, August 4, October 16, 1885. For further information on Francis Warren's role in the enforcement of the cattle quarantine laws, see W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wyoming Cattle Quarantine, 1885," *Annals of Wyoming* (Cheyenne), XVI (July, 1944), 147-61.

⁶¹Minutes of the Executive Committee, October 16, 1885.

The Wyoming Cattle Growers' Association has been in session in Cheyenne the past week. It would seem from reading an account of the proceedings that they imagine themselves endowed with powers not only to make rules for their own government but to legislate for the whole range country. There is no doubt that the association is a good thing when kept within proper bounds, but when it assumes to dictate to all cattle owners, whether members of the association or not, as to how they handle their cattle they overstep their powers and become an engine of evil. It seems to us that if a good deal of arrogance and selfishness were weeded out of the association and the rights of the small owner better respected, that the association would not only become more popular with the people at large, but productive of much more good not only to themselves but to every stock owner, as well as to everybody else interested in the prosperity of this great industry.⁶²

During the winter months of 1885-1886 excessive cold and snow wrought havoc on the range. By spring 85 per cent of some herds were gone and with the coming of fall the Wyoming cattlemen realized that the stock prices on the Chicago market were slowly declining so that cattle were bringing the lowest price in history. The years of temporary decline for the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association had set in. The summer season of 1886 was hot and dry and the grass was poor. The snow came earlier than usual the following winter and was soon followed by blizzards and extremely low temperatures. Thousands of cattle froze to death or starved, and, as a result, most of the old-time Wyoming ranchers were economically ruined.⁶³ An atmosphere of tragedy and disappointment prevailed over the annual meeting of 1887; the President, Vice-President, and Secretary were not in attendance.⁶⁴ Membership in the association had dropped from 443 to 363, and the appeal of Acting Secretary Adams reflected the desperate situation:

The period of time covered by this report has been one full of discouragement to everyone interested in stock growing. . . . It is in times like these

⁶²Rawlins *Carbon County Journal*, April 14, 1885. For editorial written by John C. Friend, see Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶³Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, 217-22.

⁶⁴Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 49.

that the undermining influence of indifference, discontent and financial disappointment are apt to work most powerfully at the foundations of the association. It is times like these that all who have the welfare of the association at heart should rally to its support.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, during the meeting many opinions concerning the advisability of abandoning the association were expressed.

The political enemies of the association now took advantage of its unfortunate economic plight. Governor Thomas Moonlight, a "Granger" who had succeeded Warren in 1887, was delighted that the large cattle companies were on the road to ruin and volunteered to lead the political opposition to the stock interests.⁶⁶ Juries of the territorial courts refused to indict cattle "rustlers" or to convict those whom the association had brought to trial on the grounds that the association had used "highhanded" methods in obtaining evidence. Prejudice against the organization was reflected by instructions from the bench. The association Secretary confessed to one member: "In view of the recent occurrences in Cheyenne, in connection with the criminal trials brought forward by the Association, I do not feel encouraged to undertake any more 'special detective work' . . . but we must devise some better system for the detection of illegal branding and cattle stealing."⁶⁷ To another he wrote, "The day will come when the community at large will be sorry that we were treated so shabbily by the authorities."⁶⁸

In spite of the economic disaster and the political difficulties with the executive and judiciary, the Wyoming association was by no means politically impotent. In these troublesome years Adams emerged as the forceful character determined to preserve the power of the association. With anxiety and interest he prepared for the meeting of the tenth legislative assembly in January, 1888. He con-

⁶⁵Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899. The proceedings of the annual meetings of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association found in this scrapbook were first printed in the *Northwestern Live Stock Journal*, published by A. S. Mercer of Cheyenne. The association's secretary clipped the accounts from the paper, pasted them in the scrapbook, and inserted additional comments in longhand when he felt essential information had been omitted.

⁶⁶W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Administration of Thomas Moonlight, 1887-1889, Wyoming's Time of Trouble," *Annals of Wyoming*, XVII (July, 1946), 139-62.

⁶⁷Adams to R. C. Butler, January 3, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶⁸Adams to August Pasche, January 3, 1888, *ibid.*

fided to a friend, "If the legislature does not destroy our association by malicious legislation, I hope we will still be able to be a considerable power in the territory."⁶⁹ Firmly convinced that the Maverick Law of 1884 would be repealed or amended by the legislature, he wrote to R. B. Harrison, secretary of the Montana association, about the stock laws of that territory. If the annual income from the maverick fund which had been \$30,000 in 1886 was taken away from the association, Adams knew that the inspection and detective work could not continue. Montana had established a territorial board of livestock commissioners and Adams desired detailed information relative to the relationship between this commission and the Montana stockmen as well as the methods it used to protect the range.⁷⁰ In the extensive correspondence which followed, Adams received constructive suggestions in rewriting the Wyoming statute, and he confessed to Harrison: "I think that by making the round-up foremen territorial officers, and having the law enforced through territorial authorities it will dissipate to a large extent the prejudice now existing against the association. . . . This prejudice is generally felt for reason that many suspect that the large fund derived from the sale of mavericks is used for the protection of the few against the many by the association."⁷¹ The Secretary also reported to Carey in Washington that

upon my suggestion a meeting was held at the Court House, and a committee appointed who have drafted a law looking toward the formation of a Live Stock Commission for this Territory who shall supervise . . . the Maverick Fund for the benefit of the stock interests of the Territory. The law has been carefully prepared with the advice of counsel and we hope to put it through the Legislature with very little amendment.⁷²

Although the Wyoming cattlemen were well represented in the 1888 legislature, the ranchers of the 1870's and early 1880's who composed the "old guard" of the seventh, eighth, and ninth sessions were conspicuously absent. Some of the stockmen in the council had grievances against the

⁶⁹Adams to Butler, January 3, 1888, *ibid.*

⁷⁰Adams to R. B. Harrison, August 23, 1887, *ibid.*

⁷¹Harrison to Adams, August 27, 1887; Adams to Harrison, September 2, 1887, *ibid.*

⁷²Adams to Carey, January 26, 1888, *ibid.*

association,⁷³ and the house of representatives was full of newcomers to the cattle business. Adams was at first discouraged by the strength of the opposition and complained to a Nebraska cattleman, "It seems as if cattlemen will not only have to suffer the loss of over half of their property, but will have to stand a good deal of abuse from the granger interests and from traitors in their own ranks."⁷⁴ Within two weeks, however, Adams and his colleagues secured enough votes to pass the bill in both the council and house, but when it reached Governor Moonlight he found it unacceptable because the livestock commission created thereby could fill vacancies in its membership. This he considered an infringement of the appointing power of the executive. Adams made bitter charges against the Governor for attempting to delay action which was so desperately needed by the stock interests, and the legislation was finally enacted over the Governor's veto. The passage of this law transferring the protection of the Wyoming range to a territorial board of livestock commissioners on a basis agreeable to the association was the greatest achievement of the association in this legislative session and revealed that the stock growers continued to exert some political influence.⁷⁵

This session of the assembly devoted a great portion of its time to removing stock laws from the statute books. In the council, Holliday, Carey's unsuccessful opponent for Congress in 1884, introduced three bills designed to repeal the Maverick Law of 1884, the basic statute "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock," and the 1875 statute which had authorized the county commissioners, with the advice of the stock growers' association, to appoint and pay the salaries of range detectives. The county commissioners were no longer authorized to pay rewards from the county treasury for the arrest of stock thieves. The territorial veterinarian was to be appointed for a specified two-year term by the governor with the confirmation of the council and the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association

⁷³Of the six association men in the council, two were disaffected. Smith resigned from the executive committee in 1887 when that body refused to remove one of his employees from the "Black List." The association brought his employee to trial as a cattle thief, and Smith's bitterness toward the organization drove him into the enemy's camp in the legislature. Caleb P. Organ of Laramie County also resigned from the association in 1887 because well-known officials had not been forced by the executive committee to explain their ranching practices.

⁷⁴Adams to Louis L. Wyatt, February 3, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁷⁵Adams to James G. Parker, February 14, 1888; Frank M. Canton to Adams, March 2, 1888; Adams to Claude L. Talbot, March 3, 1888, *ibid.*

need not be consulted as in past years. Taxation of livestock on the open range was increased.⁷⁶

When the association assembled for its sixteenth annual session in the spring of 1888, the full effect of the disastrous years of 1886 and 1887 was very much in evidence. Although during the year the executive committee had voted an assessment of two cents per head on 70 per cent of each member's cattle, the Treasurer reported a deficit of \$3,658. He opened his annual report with the terse statement, "the receipts have been less than they were last year and the year before, and the funds have fallen short of what it was necessary to expend." Some employees of the association had been dismissed and again there was talk of abandoning the association. The executive committee, however, resolved to continue the association in order to assist the livestock commission in performing its duties and to see that reliable cattlemen were selected as its members. It was agreed that the association's initiation fee should be abolished and that dues should be lowered. Each member of the association was urged to engage in missionary work to increase the membership of the organization. After the election of the new officers, "Heck" Reel accepted his sixth term as treasurer and remarked:

We all want to hold together and push ourselves ahead to protect the cattle we have left and make more out of them. We all have a few still. I can remember when many of you started with less in number than you have today, and I believe I started with less myself than I have now. Although we lost heavily last winter, I do not feel discouraged. All businesses have their depressions and reverses, and we had no right to expect ours would be an exception. We have seen our darkest day, and if this association will take a new hold we can do a great deal for the stock interests and can protect one another. There is no use in lying down or giving up. All we have to do is to use a little energy, persevere, stand firm and when an opportunity presents itself to push to the front.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Wyoming *Session Laws*, 1888, Chap. 9, p. 23; Chap. 10, p. 23; Chap. 14, p. 25; Chap. 28, pp. 46-54; Chap. 48, pp. 109-10.

⁷⁷Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, pp. 101-102.

Adams optimistically reported to Carey in Washington, "Our 'Cheyenne Guard' is getting along nicely, & only lack a little support from the Executive."⁷⁸

The livestock commission, created in 1888, received no financial support from the territorial legislature on the assumption that the sale of mavericks would provide essential funds. The executive committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association provided the commissioners with the money necessary to conduct the spring roundup of 1888 and at the annual meeting in 1889 instructed its legislative committee to draft legislation bolstering the stock commission and placing it upon a sound financial footing.⁷⁹ The cattlemen in the eleventh territorial assembly made two significant achievements. Many of the laws which the previous assembly had hastily repealed were restored to the statute books and provisions were made for reorganizing, simplifying, and codifying all stock legislation of the territorial period.⁸⁰ An immediate appropriation of \$10,000 was granted the stock commission and continuous territorial financial support guaranteed whereby the needs of the commission would be annually estimated and reported to the governor who could recommend an appropriation by the legislature. The annual appropriation for this general expense fund was not to exceed \$2,000; other funds could come from the sale of mavericks.⁸¹

In the spring of 1890 when the association held its annual meeting the officers realized that the role of the Wyoming stock growers had changed and that its more important functions had been assigned the commission. Membership in the association had dropped from 349 to 183 between the annual meetings of 1888 and 1889; no figures were announced for 1890. The association's treasurer reported a \$29 balance. The executive committee had resolved to abolish all special assessments on the members and to curtail operating expenses. The Secretary closed his annual report with the observation, "Questions will undoubtedly be asked at this time. What is there for the association to do? Shall its organization be maintained? Are we justified in maintaining its existence?" The assembled stockmen debated these questions at length and resolved to continue the association. Babbitt, who succeeded Carey as president of the Association in 1888, died

⁷⁸Adams to Carey, August 7, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁷⁹Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, pp. 110-11.

⁸⁰Wyoming Session Laws, 1890, Chap. 39, pp. 51-61.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Chap. 53, pp. 93-100; Adams to Fred G. S. Hesse, March 29, 1890, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

in the summer of 1889 and the new president chosen at this session, John Clay, Jr., assured the members: "There is going to be but very little work for the association during the next year, and my duties will not be very cumbersome. Whatever those duties are you may be certain that I am going to be in the front and do the best I can for the stock interests of the territory."⁸²

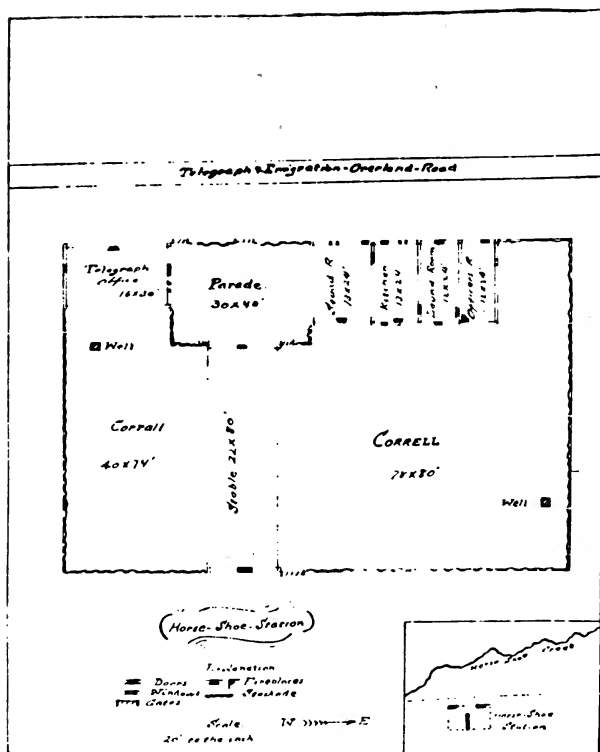
The association also accepted the change in its political position which had been developing since 1887. No longer could the organization speak with the authority of the years 1882-1886. Local politicians, who were not so fully aware of these changes, continued to write the association officers in Cheyenne for political endorsements for themselves and for friends. Secretary Adams explained to one member: "I doubt very much the wisdom of attempting to raise an 'election fund' . . . by the Association. Once or twice there have been accusations made against the Association for taking a hand in politics, but fortunately, thus far, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no money has ever been expended *by the Association* in the interest of any political aspirant."⁸³ To a candidate for office he wrote, "I cannot discriminate in favor or against Democrats or Republicans as I cannot in any way encourage the belief that has gained ground recently that the Association is a political machine."⁸⁴

In these years of temporary decline the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association displayed great wisdom in curtailing its political activities and in making friends throughout the new state of Wyoming. Its voice was continuously to be heard and its influence felt in matters affecting the Wyoming stock interests, but never again was the association to reach the heights of political influence enjoyed during the territorial period when it dominated the political scene and its will was the law in Wyoming.

⁸²Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, p. 120.

⁸³Adams to Horace C. Plunkett, August 18, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁸⁴Adams to I. J. Wynn, April 14, 1890, *ibid.*



HORSE SHOE STATION
 (Courtesy Fort Collins Pioneer Museum)

American Pioneer Trails Association

**An Address Delivered by L. C. Bishop* at Fort Laramie,
Wyoming, July 2, 1947, at a meeting of Pioneer
Citizens With Officials of the Pioneer
Trails Association.**

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests and Pioneer Friends:

I have been asked to tell you something of what we know today as the Old Oregon Trail across Wyoming. I deem it a privilege as well as pleasure to do this.

I only wish I knew more about this famous transcontinental route, over which countless thousands traveled between 1834 and its abandonment about 1867, when the Union Pacific Railroad was built across Wyoming. William H. Bishop, who was a brother of my great grandfather, traveled this trail with his family as a Mormon emigrant in 1850. His name is inscribed on Independence Rock.

The first white establishment in the vicinity of this old outpost was near the south end of the present buildings. It was established as a fur traders post about 1834 and it was first called Fort John, then Fort William after William Sublette, William Patton and William Anderson. In 1849 it was bought by the U. S. Government and converted into a military post at the present site. In 1842 a small stockade and trading post was built in the forks of the Laramie and Platte Rivers called Fort Platte. The first Indian treaty negotiated at Fort Laramie was in 1851 when more than 10,000 Indians gathered from a radius of more than 500 miles.

My interest in these old trails has been, and will continue to be, to help preserve for posterity their actual location.

The trail that traverses the north side of the North Platte River and which passed this historical location was commonly called the Platte Road in the early days. I have

*Loren Clark Bishop, son of Spencer A. and Edith L. Bishop, was born on the Bishop ranch on La Prele Creek, near Ft. Fetterman, March 4, 1885. He has been active in engineering and irrigation projects in Wyoming for many years and has served as Wyoming State Engineer since 1939. Deeply interested in Wyoming historical matters Mr. Bishop served as secretary of the Wyoming Pioneer Association from 1925 to 1932 and as Vice President in 1946 and 1947. He served as president of the Wyoming section of the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1946 and is a member of the Wyoming Engineering Society and a life member of the National Rifle Association. He is past Commander of the Samuel Mares Post of the American Legion and a 32nd degree Mason.

a map made by the Army Engineers in 1859-60 which shows both of these old trails. The one on the south side is labeled "Platte Road." My father was a pioneer of the early seventies and he referred to this trail as "Platte Road" and the one on the north side of the Platte River as "Mormon Trail."

Neither of these roads were used exclusively by either class of emigrant. During the spring when the Platte River and tributaries were in flood, the north road was used to avoid the two crossings of the river and tributary streams, such as the Laramie River, Cottonwood, Horseshoe, La Bonte, La Prele, Box Elder and Deer Creeks. At other times, the south road was preferred as there were better camping places with necessary grass for the oxen and water for both man and beast. Also the wagon trains were better protected from attacks by marauding bands of Indians.

I was born and reared on a ranch on La Prele Creek near Fort Fetterman and less than two miles from the old trail. When I was a small boy, I hunted Indian arrowheads, lead bullets and wood telegraph insulators along this old trail and the Fort Fetterman-Rock Creek Road, which crossed the Oregon Trail about a mile and a half east of the crossing of La Prele Creek. I regret that I did not have the foresight to save more of the insulators. The fact is that I only saved one, which I brought along on this trek to show you what they were like. The others I used for targets for my single-shot 22 rifle.

During more than thirty years past, I have crossed and re-crossed this old trail many, many times at my work as a surveyor.

It has been my privilege to know many of the old pioneers of Wyoming. I will only mention a few from this immediate locality. First on the list is John Hunton, a pioneer of the sixties who was the sutler here at Fort Laramie at the time of its abandonment. Mr. Hunton was the first president of the Wyoming Pioneer Association in 1925 and I was its secretary. I became very well acquainted with him during the two years he served as president. I will relate as near as I can remember a couple of early day incidents that he related to me.

He was owner of a sawmill on Little Box Elder Creek in Saw Mill Canyon on the Fetterman Wood Reservation, where he sawed lumber for Fort Fetterman and where cordwood was cut for use at the Fort.

One Sunday several of the employees went deer hunting and one fellow did not return. A search was instituted the following day and his remains were found about two miles from the camp near the head of a small draw. His body was pierced by Indian arrows until he looked like a

porcupine, according to Mr. Hunton. The Indians had taken his rifle and everything he possessed, including his clothing. He was wrapped in a government blanket and buried where he was found. When I was a small boy, my father showed me a grave in this locality near the head of a draw, well marked by a mound of stone, and at the head was a bull wagon fellow on which was inscribed "E. E. G. 1870." When I told Mr. Hunton about this he said the year was about right but he did not remember the man's name. He thought possibly that this was the grave of the man that was killed by Indians near his sawmill camp. I believe it is. A few years ago I visited this old grave and the wagon fellow was gone and I marked a stone "E. E. G. 1870" and placed it at the head of the grave to take the place of the old marker.

Another incident he related was concerning a foreman by the name of Boswell on one of his ranches. I believe it was the Bordeaux Ranch. One day Boswell was accidentally shot by a loaded rifle that Hunton always kept at hand. The bullet lodged in Boswell's shoulder. Hunton hitched a team to the ranch buckboard and drove Boswell to Wheatland, where Dr. Phifer located the bullet by X-Ray and much to his astonishment found another lead slug near the one that he removed. Boswell informed the Doctor after some reflection that he was shot in a "bit of a mix-up" at Fort Laramie about forty years before, but had nearly forgotten the incident. Hunton suggested to the Doctor that if he should examine Boswell more closely that he would very likely find some more bullets and possibly some Indian arrowheads.

My father whacked bulls for Hunton before he went in the freighting business for himself. He said that Jack Hunton was a man whose word was as good as his bond and a friend that could always be depended upon.

Other pioneers in this locality with whom I was acquainted were Mike Henry, who soldiered here at Fort Laramie in the '50's and John D. O'Brien in the '60's. Mike Henry later established a ranch on the Bozeman Trail at Brown Springs and John D. O'Brien on La Prele Creek both in what is now Converse County. John D. O'Brien was Captain of the Douglas Infantry Company in the Spanish American War. Both have long since gone to their reward.

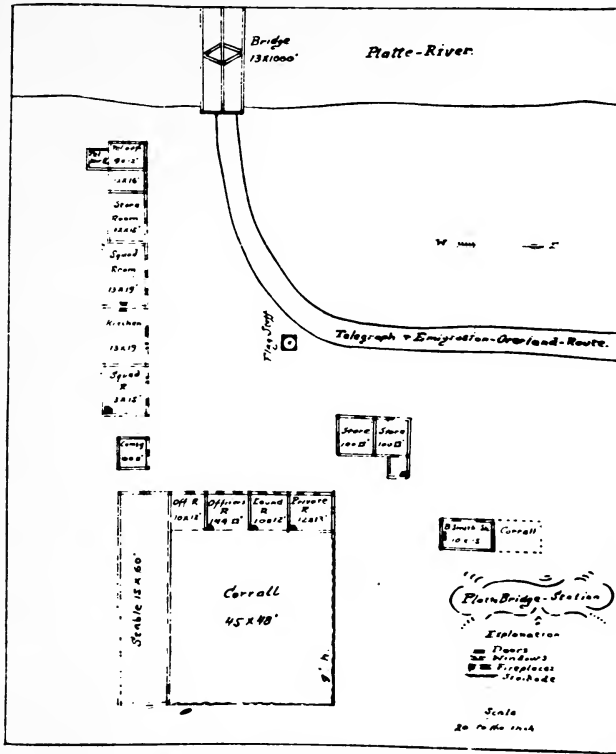
Charles Guernsey, who owned the Posy Ryan Ranch on the Laramie River near here, was a pioneer of the early '80's. The town of Guernsey and Guernsey Dam across the North Platte River just up stream from the town of Guernsey were named for this distinguished pioneer citizen.

I will not attempt to tell you about all of the points of interest along the old trail between here and Casper, but will enumerate a few, beginning with the Old Pony Express station at Sand Point, where the trail first enters the Platte River bottoms after leaving here. Just down stream from here, you will observe the names on the Sandstone Bluff. Then, as you proceed on the old trail, you cross a ridge where the wagon wheel ruts are deep in the sandstone. Next you pass the Lucinda Rollins grave on the right of the trail, above the present river bridge, south of the town of Guernsey, then on to Warm Springs.

After crossing Cottonwood Creek, the trail can be followed over the Divide where the bases of some of the old telegraph poles can be found. Next you come to Twin Springs where M. A. Mouseau operated a ranch in 1868. About four miles beyond is Horseshoe Station. The old well used by J. R. Smith when he established a ranch there, after abandonment of the trail and stage station, about 1866, is still in evidence. I have here a copy of a sketch plan of this station copied from the original on display in the Fort Collins Museum with the letters of Caspar Collins to his mother. (My friend, Ed Shaffner, borrowed the sketches from the Fort Collins Museum and returned them after I made the copies.) I also have a copy of a description of an Indian battle in which John R. Smith and others participated at his Horseshoe Ranch (Horseshoe Station) and Twin Springs Ranch, that should be preserved.

In commenting on this battle, and the John R. Smith account of it, about 1927, John Hunton, at my request dictated the following memo:

"In March, 1868, there was located on La Bonte Creek, a road ranch owned and run by M. A. Mouseau. There was a ranch at the old abandoned stage station on Horseshoe Creek, which was conducted by William Worrel and John R. Smith; and a ranch at Twin Springs, four and one-half miles east of the last named ranch, also owned by M. A. Mouseau, who employed a man to run it; a ranch on the west side of Cottonwood Creek where the Fetterman "Cut-Off" Road crosses the creek, run by two men known as Bulger and Bouncer, and a ranch on the east side of Cottonwood Creek at the same crossing. Sometime between the 15th and 25th of that month a war party of about sixty Sioux Indians, under American Horse, Big Little Man, and other noted warriors, attacked all five of the ranches and destroyed and burned them.



PLATTE BRIDGE STATION
(Courtesy Fort Collins Pioneer Museum.)

“None of them were rebuilt. Mouseau and his family escaped to Ft. Fetterman and his Twin Springs man also escaped. Of the Horseshoe ranch party, four of the men were killed. Worrel was shot through one foot and Smith was shot through one thigh and in some way both got to the fort (Ft. Laramie). Of the two Cottonwood ranches, the one on the east side of the creek, being first attacked, gave the alarm to the two men on the west side, and they escaped, but James Pulliam, the east side ranchman was wounded in one arm and escaped by running into the brush. His Indian wife received a slight wound in one arm and was captured. Her child and young sister were killed during the fight. The survivors got to the fort and reported the affair as soon as they could. Company

"A" and 2nd Cavalry, commanded by Captain Thomas Dewus, was ordered to go as far as Horseshoe and to repair the telegraph line and render such assistance as they could and bury the dead.

"Myself and several other citizens (William H. Brown and Antone La Due, I remember) accompanied the cavalry company. We found and buried two of the men of the Horseshoe ranch party on the east side of Bear Creek draw, just north of and almost under the telegraph line.

(signed) JOHN HUNTON."

The Smith account does not exactly correspond with this article by Hunton but when you consider that Smith was a participant and wrote his account 25 years after the battle and that Hunton was not a participant and wrote his account 60 years after, the different versions are to be expected.*

From Horseshoe Creek the trail swings away from the river to avoid crossing of steep draws or gulches. Next point of interest is La Bonte Station. Here seven soldiers were killed in battles with Indians and buried nearby. The remains were removed to Fort McPherson, Nebraska, about 1895. I also have a sketch map of this station by Caspar Collins. Some of the old foundations are still in evidence on what is now the Dilts Ranch, (originally the Pollard Ranch). Here the trail is yet some distance from the river, continuing northerly across Wagon Hound Creek and through bad lands, crossing Bed Tick Creek on the present Gedney Ranch. It crosses the Upper La Prele Road just above a tunnel of the La Prele Ditch. A few hundred feet north of this point and between here and the Old Oregon Trail Monument, a branch road goes northeast to Fort Fetterman. Next the trail enters Sand Creek and follows it very closely, some of the distance in the bed of the stream, to near its mouth, then northwesterly along La Prele Creek to La Prele Station opposite the buildings on the Nels Rasmussen Ranch (Old George Powell Ranch). Here an Indian battle also took place and the stage station was burned and several soldiers were killed and buried nearby. Their remains were later removed to Fort McPherson, Nebraska.

From La Prele Creek, the trail runs northwesterly over the Divide to the crossing of Little Box Elder Creek on the O. D. Ferguson Ranch (formerly the Jim Abney Ranch). It then crosses Big Box Elder near the buildings of the Upper S. O. Ranch. Next, after this crossing, it enters the

*De Barthe, Joe, *The Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard, Chief of Scouts, U.S.A.* Comb Printing Co., St. Joseph, Mo., 1894, pp. 525-540.

river bottoms about five miles southeast of old Deer Creek Station (now Glenrock). Just south of the present highway is the grave of A. H. Untank, who was buried there in 1850. In the bend of the river here was one of the old camp grounds of the trail. Just before the trail crosses Deer Creek on its left, and, on the right of the present highway as you proceed towards Casper, is the grave of C. B. Platt, who was buried there in 1849. His remains were reinterred in 1938 by Jean Poirot, Ed Shaffner and me. Across Deer Creek and just north of the present C. & N. W. R. R. are the remains of the foundations of the old buildings which conform closely to the Caspar Collins' sketch. Up Deer Creek three miles above the old station, was the Upper Platte Indian Agency and Lutheran Mission in 1855, and 6 miles up Deer Creek was a Mormon Settlement in 1857.

From Glenrock the highway parallels the old trail on the south for several miles. The graves of M. Ringo and Parker are on the right of the highway and the left of the old trail between Glenrock and Parkerton. At Parkerton is the grave of Ada McGill which I moved 30 feet when I surveyed the highway in 1912.

Near Casper there is Platte Bridge and Fort Caspar, and above Casper, Richards Bridge where the old trail crossed according to the 1859-60 map. I believe this was near the old Goose Egg Ranch in Bessemer Bend. (Some well informed people believe this bridge was below Casper.)

I will conclude with the observation that I hope to see this old road surveyed, and a map prepared showing its location with relation to the present roads, and markers placed at all points where it crosses the main highways. At present it is hard to find the old road most of the distance across Wyoming. Many of the present markers are not located at the actual crossings of the trail and many are not on the old trail or even near it.

From Casper and beyond, others will tell you more about the old trail. I thank you.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 1, 1947 to November 1, 1947

- Moyer, Ralph, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of World War I souvenirs including folders, war bonds, and post cards. May 13, 1947.
- Crain, Charlie, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of leather license plate used by Senator F. E. Warren on his first automobile, a 1908 Studebaker. June 3, 1947.
- McGrath, Mary A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of badge and souvenir key ring from Diamond Jubilee of Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association meeting. June 6, 1947.
- Wheeler, Mrs. H. J., Rawlins, Wyoming: Donor of Beatty organ belonging to Jennie Reschke, daughter of Jim Baker and grandmother of Mrs. Wheeler. March 19, 1947.
- Guy, Major George F., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of twenty-four mottoes of Japanese war criminals, with both Japanese characters and English translations. June 20, 1947.
- Wilhelm, D. C., Gillette, Wyoming: Donor of 1921 Wyoming license plate which is very rare and completes the Department's collection. June 26, 1947.
- Marquart, Mrs., Laramie, Wyoming: Donor of silver plated water cooler, hanging stand, and one cup given to George Bescherer by the Durant Volunteer Fire Department of Cheyenne, in 1884, when Mr. Bescherer was foreman of the company. June 20, 1947.
- Denny, Mrs. E. A., Mt. Morrison, Colorado: Donor of small Vermont spinning wheel belonging to Allen family, a skirt fluter, instrument used by wagon makers to measure the circumference of wagon wheels, box of percussion caps. July 3, 1947.
- DuQuoin, Carl, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of large Indian collection including four pairs Sioux moccasins, one pair Blackfoot, and one pair baby moccasins; Sioux shell necklace and tomahawk from Buffalo Bill show, two Sioux head dresses; Sioux beaded leggings and apron; two Cree ceremonial clubs; Navajo medicine bowl and unfinished rug; three Cree bags and one belt purse; one Chippewa mesh bag; one Sioux knife sheath, bag, needle case, peace pipe and three sets arm bands and two feathered bustles; Cree child's arm bands; Sioux, Blackfoot and Crow head bands; Tamaulipa drawn work, Navajo blue corn bread; artifacts. July 14, 1947.
- Rhoads and Morgan Jade Shop, Lander, Wyoming: Donor of seven excellent pieces of Wyoming jade. July 15, 1947.
- Tisch, Mrs. Henry, Wheatland, Wyoming: Flag of the Henry Tisch Post No. 112, Dept. Colorado and Wyoming, G. A. R., Wheatland, Wyoming. July 10, 1947.

- Sheahan, Mary G., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of white christening dress used in 1876, a baby's bib, and a gold and blue enameled ladies' watch belonging to Miss Sheahan's mother and bearing the imprint "Zehner & Buechner, Cheyenne, Wyoming," about 1887. August 12, 1947.
- Rees, Dan, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of cowboy outfit used by John H. Rees as Inspector and Livestock Detective for Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, 1882-1901, including 45 Colt six-shooter and scabbard, silver mounted drip-shank spurs with spur straps made by L. C. Gallatin, 60-foot hand made rawhide lariat, fine 50 foot rawhide lariat used for front-footing horses, commission from Association, powder horn and muzzle loading rifle. August 21, 1947.
- Watts, Clyde, executor of Estate of Maude E. Johnson, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of Souvenir Edition of Cheyenne Daily Leader, 1903. August 21, 1947.
- Scanlan, Mrs. W. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of mustache cup given to William J. Scanlan, as a wedding gift July 14, 1886. August 20, 1947.
- Owen, C. W., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of twenty-one pieces of Anassizi pottery from the Mogollon mountains of New Mexico. April 1, 1947.
- Emerson, Dr. Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of one James Montgomery Flagg poster of World War I, one 1930 calendar showing all of the insignias of World War I divisions, and one chair made by a German soldier in a trench. September, 1947.
- Peters, Oran A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of one shaving soap dish issued to soldiers in the Civil War. September 9, 1947.
- Rothwell, John, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of a reptile fossil, a French bayonet dated 1877 and several jade specimens. September, 1947.
- Shannon, W. R., Hawk Springs, Wyoming: Donor of a letter by general ticket agent of Union Pacific to John London, 1885, one freight bill, 1882, and one bill of lading, 1882, both addresses to John London, Fort Laramie. October 10, 1947.
- Marsh, Emily E., Cornwall, Connecticut: Donor of a picture of Henry O. Bookiah monument on Hawaii and a copy of the inscription on a monument to him in Cornwall. August, 1947.
- Meng, Hans, Hat Creek, Wyoming: Donor of bread pan thrown away by Sioux at Lance Creek. October 23, 1947.
- Hesse, George, Buffalo, Wyoming: Donor of pair of hand made, silver mounted button spurs. October 23, 1947.
- Burgess, Warren: Donor of double rowel spur found in a cut bank at Weber Canyon. October 23, 1947.
- Stemler, Hugh, La Grange, Wyoming: Donor of running iron designed by his father in the 1870's. October 23, 1947.
- McIntosh, J. L., Splitrock, Wyoming: Donor of Pony Express horse shoe found at blacksmith shop at Station on the Sweetwater, and insulator used on first transcontinental telegraph. October, 1947.

- Sun, Mrs. Tom, Alcova, Wyoming: Donor of bracket used on first transcontinental telegraph. October, 1947.
- Gould, E. L., Saratoga, Wyoming: Donor of police nippers carried by Joe McGee of Warm Springs in 1880, and a spur found near Encampment. October, 1947.
- Nois, C. J., La Grange, Wyoming: Donor of pair of "XL" spurs. October, 1947.
- Pollard, Harry P., Douglas, Wyoming: Donor of bootjack used in Jim Ferris Hotel at Ft. Fetterman, 1883. October, 1947.
- Thorp, Russell, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of cake of harness soap used on Black Hills Stage Line, postal stamp from Ft. Steele, bull shoes used on oxen on Cheyenne-Black Hills Trail, horseshoes found on Cheyenne-Black Hills Trail, collar buttons, cuff adjusters and high collars from store at Ft. Steele. October, 1947.
- Donegon, Francis, Gillette, Wyoming: Donor of bit made by first blacksmith in Gillette in 1892. October, 1947.
- Nagle, George, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of thirty souvenir badges of Woman's Relief Corps and G. A. R. Encampments. October, 1947.

Books—Purchased

- Jackson, Clarence S., *Picture Maker of the Old West*. Scribner, New York, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- Nelson, Bruce, *Land of the Dakotahs*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1946. Price \$2.50.
- Fisher, John S., *A Builder of the West*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1939. Price \$3.33.
- Young, Stanley Paul, *The Wolf in North American History*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Towne, Charles Wayland and Wentworth, Edward Norris, *Shepherd's Empire*. University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Potter, David Morris, ed., *Trail to California*. Yale University, New Haven, 1945. Price \$3.15.
- Hyde, George E., *Red Cloud's Folk*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1937. Price \$3.15.
- Drury, Clifford Merrill, *Marcus Whitman, M. D.* Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1937. Price \$3.34.
- Mulford, Ami Frank, *Fighting Indians in the 7th United States Cavalry*. Mulford, Corning, N. Y., 1878. Price \$7.50.
- Cummins, Sarah J., *Autobiography and Reminiscences*. Allen, Freewater, Oregon, 1914. Price \$7.50.
- The Central Northwest*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Gunther, John, *Inside U. S. A.* Harper, New York, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Dunraven, Earl of, *Hunting in the Yellowstone*. Macmillan, New York, 1922. Price \$2.00.

- Phinney, Mary Allen, *Jirah Isham Allen*. Tuttle, Rutland, Vt., n. d. Price \$7.00.
- Fryxell, Fritiof, *The Tetons*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1946. Price \$1.67.
- Lyford, Carrie A., *Quill and Beadwork of the Western Sioux*. Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan., 1940. Price \$.68.
- McWhorter, Lucullus Virgil, *Yellow Wolf: his own story*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1940. Price \$2.33.
- Cooper, Frank C., *The Stirring Lives of Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill*. Parsons, New York, 1912. Price \$1.50.
- Kraft, James Lewis, *Adventure in Jade*. Holt, New York, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- White, Nelson, *Westward in '47*. Dixon, Salt Lake City, 1947. Price \$1.00.
- The Westerners Brand Book*, 1945. Bradford-Robinson, Denver, 1946. Price \$7.50.
- Westermeier, Clifford P., *Man, Beast, Dust*. World Press, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- Fougere, Katherine Gibson, *With Custer's Cavalry*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Morgan, Dale L., *The Great Salt Lake*. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1947. Price \$2.33.
- Vestal, Stanley, *Jim Bridger, Mountain Man*. Morrow, New York, 1946. Price \$2.33.
- Waller, Herbert H., *Famous Historical Places*. Hobson, Cynthia, Ky., 1944. Price \$2.05.
- Lynam, Robert, ed., *The Beecher Island Annual*. Beecher Island Battle Memorial Assoc., Wray, Colo., 1930. Price \$3.00.
- Davidson, Levette J., and Blake, Forrester, ed., *Rocky Mountain Tales*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- Stenger, Wallace, *Mormon Country*. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Linderman, Frank B., *American, the life story of a great Indian*. Day, New York, 1930. Price \$2.50.
- Burdick, Usher L., ed., *David F. Barry's Indian notes on the Custer Battle*. Proof Press, Baltimore, 1937. Price \$3.00.
- Ghost Towns of Colorado*. Hastings House, New York, 1947. Price \$1.83.
- Burdick, Usher L., *Jacob Horner and the Indian Campaigns of 1876 and 1877*. Wirth, Baltimore, 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Hunt, Frazier and Robert, *I Fought with Custer*. Scribner, New York, 1947. Price \$2.34.
- Steele, John, *Across the Plains in 1850*. Caxton Club, Chicago, 1930. Price \$21.00.

Books—Gifts

Official Brand Book of the State of Wyoming. Kintzel Blue Print, Casper, 1946. Donor Livestock and Sanitary Board, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Cheyenne City Directory, 1907. Polk, Salt Lake City, 1907. Donor Stella Scanlan, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1945. 5 vols. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1946.

Bibliography for the History of Wyoming. University of Wyoming publication, Vol. 12, No. 1, University of Wyoming, 1946.

Cram's Unrivalled Atlas of the World. 1901. Donor Dr. Paul Emerson, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Hill's Manual of Social and Business Writing. 1874. Donor Dr. Paul Emerson, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Mitchell's School Atlas. 1849. Donor R. I. Martin, Saratoga, Wyoming.

People's Pictorial Atlas. 1873. Donor R. I. Martin, Saratoga, Wyoming.

Miscellaneous Purchases

Glass shelf for display case. Cost \$15.00.

Remington-Rand Portograph machine and dryer. Cost \$193.12.

Photostats of two maps of General Phil Sheridan's expedition across the Big Horns. Cost \$2.00.

Annals of Wyoming

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No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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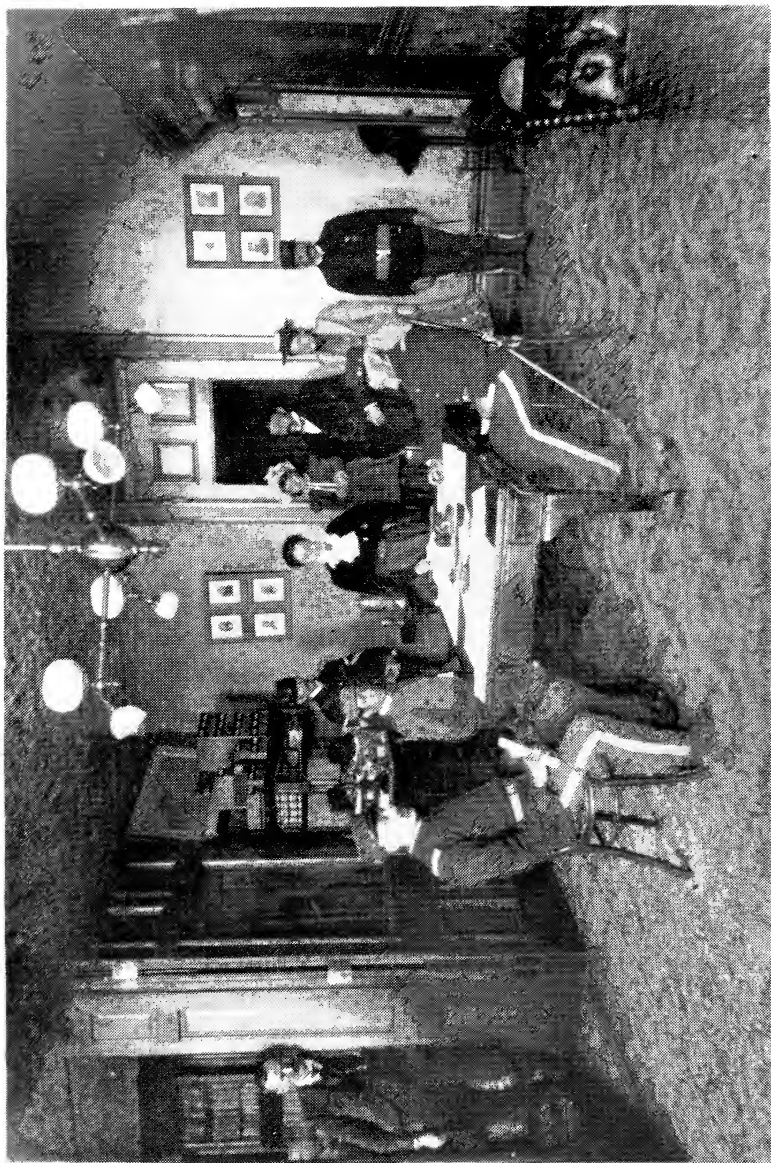
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Cheyenne, Wyoming



Office of Governor W. A. Richards in State Capitol about 1898.

Wyoming's Fourth Governor --

William A. Richards

By MRS. ALICE McCREERY and TACETTA B. WALKER*

The Honorable William Alford Richards, governor of Wyoming, 1895-1899, was a man of outstanding ability and character, a man of whom Wyoming may be proud, for he played the game well and honestly. He was just and sane in all his decisions and showed a level head at the appearance of any crisis. He was what is termed a self-made man for through his own efforts and ambitions he climbed steadily to the top and no man could say that the highest honors were not well deserved. No matter how high the scale of the ladder which he climbed, he remained the same unassuming person he was, when, as a boy, he came west.

William Alford Richards was born at Hazel Green, Grant County, Wisconsin, on March 9, 1849. His father, Truman Perry Richards, was a native of New York. The first of the Richards to settle in America was John Richards, from Dorsetshire, England, who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1630. He helped found New London, Connecticut, and for a century he and his descendants were prominent in the affairs of that place. Truman Richards' mother was Ruth Ticknor, daughter of Colonel Elisha Ticknor, of the New Hampshire troops in the Revolutionary War. The mother of W. A. Richards was Eleanor Swinnerton of Ohio. Her maternal grandfather, Nathan Carpenter, served at the Battle of Bunker Hill and later under his uncle, Ethan Allan, at Ticonderoga. He was the first to settle Delaware,

*Tacetta B. Walker was born at Cozad, Nebraska, the daughter of Rev. and Mrs. W. L. Dillow, Nebraska pioneers. When she was eleven the family moved to Montana and she had her first experience at pioneering. As soon as she was old enough she took up a homestead in Wyoming, and shortly thereafter married Loyd Walker. On the ranch she learned to break brones, brand cattle and sheep and on occasion herd the sheep. She is a graduate of the Billings, Montana, high school and has attended the University of Montana, University of Wyoming, Columbia University and Rosebud Normal. While living the lonely ranch life she became interested in the stories of the cowboys and wrote "Stories of Early Days in Wyoming." She has also contributed numerous articles to various newspapers in Wyoming and Montana. Mrs. Wilkie M. Smith of Casper is Mrs. Walker's only child. Since the end of the War Mrs. Walker has stopped teaching and resides with her husband on a farm near Worland.

Ohio, on May 1, 1800. The first of his mother's family to come to this country was Job Swinnerton, who arrived in Salem in 1657. This family intermarried with the Carpenter family of Rehoboth. Abiel Carpenter, the great grandfather of William Richards, married a sister of Ethan Allan of Revolutionary fame.

Here was a family of pioneer stock, ready to serve their country, ready to brave the hardships of a new continent and once on that continent to keep moving westward in the wake of new trails. The rigors of pioneer life were never made a cross but rather an adventure. In keeping with their heritage they moved westward in the early forties to Wisconsin where they settled at Hazel Green.

William was the second of three sons who grew to manhood. The death of a sister was deeply mourned by the whole family. The Richards were leaders in community life in Hazel Green. They were hard-working and God-fearing, and they brought up their children to be industrious, thrifty, and, above all, to be honest. They instilled into their minds the principles of morality. What greater heritage after all than these: morality, honesty, industry? Young William had much indeed with which to make his start in the world, for with the training he received from his parents, money was not an essential.

Truman Perry Richards, father of William, was in turn a miner, mechanic and farmer. Whatever work his father followed, William was on hand to do his share. He went to the district school until he was fourteen years of age. In September 1863, he took a fancy to become a soldier and joined his brother Alonzo, in the Army of the Potomac but on account of his youth, he was denied enlistment. But here was a first sample of his determination, that determination which was to carry him so far in after life. He took a position as ambulance driver and in this way served his country. He later told of that experience when he went to Washington as Commissioner of the General Land Office.

"I had always lived in the country," he related, "and the train on which I came to Washington from Galena, Illinois, was the first passenger train I had ever seen. I started with a through ticket, five dollars in money, and a box of luncheon. Our train was delayed three or four days by the movement of the Eleventh Army Corps, which was being sent west to reinforce Rosecrans at Nashville; consequently my five dollars dwindled away on living expenses, and I reached Washington dead broke and without money enough to pay carfare. I walked from the Baltimore and Ohio depot to the signal corps camp, two miles from Georgetown, where an elder brother was stationed.

I wanted to enlist, but I was too young, only fourteen. I finally got a place in the service as an ambulance driver. I was one of the few drivers in camp who knew horses and soon, by trading, I had a good team. In those days every ambulance driver drove fast as he could and there were some mighty fine races. One night I was driving back to camp, when, in turning on High Street, I saw an ambulance ahead. I started to pass it and we had a lively race for half a square or more, when I got ahead and kept ahead, giving the other fellow all the dust, and it was mighty dusty at that particular time. When I got to camp and turned in from the main road I was pretty well scared by seeing the other ambulance turn in after me, and was scared still more when I saw that it was occupied by the commanding officer of the camp—Colonel Nicodemus. Next morning the colonel sent for me and said: 'Young man, I believe you passed me last night and made me eat dust all the way to camp.'

"I admitted that this was true, but said that I didn't know the colonel was in the ambulance, or I wouldn't have tried to pass him. 'Well, what I want to know is, where did you get that team?' said the colonel.

"I told him that I had made it up by trading and matching till I believed I had the best team of mules in Washington. The colonel said, 'After this you will take no orders from anybody about this camp excepting from the quartermaster or from me.'

"And for the rest of my time in the service my ambulance was attached to headquarters."

Upon his return to Wisconsin in the spring of 1864, William Richards went to work on a farm. In 1865, he went to high school at Galena, Illinois, where he graduated at the head of his class. In the summer of 1866, he taught school in Grant County and from then on until he was twenty years of age, he taught school. When he was not teaching, he was doing farm work not only helping himself but a younger brother. Truly, this young man did not seem to be afraid of hard work.

At this time he was tall, six feet in height, dark, good looking, and much sought after by the girls of the countryside, but as yet girls were something to be shunned. The call of his pioneer ancestry was urging him west and in 1869 he was in Omaha piling lumber to make a living until something better showed up. He won the lifelong friendship of his employer, who became one of the most extensive lumber dealers of the country. In the campaign of 1894, twenty-five years later, although of opposite political faith,

he wrote a letter which aided in the election of his former employee to the governorship of Wyoming.

Omaha was a town in the making when young William Richards landed there. Nebraska was still a prairie where Indians roved about at will and great herds of buffalo were still to be seen. It was a country to appeal to the young and adventurous. It was a country where a man might get his start but it was a young man's dominion, for none of the luxuries of civilization were there to soften life.

William Richards joined a government surveying party and worked for four years upon the public surveys of Nebraska. About this time he received a surveying contract for himself, largely through the influence of the following letter from General Grant, then president of the United States.

Executive Mansion
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1870

Dear Sir:

Permit me to recommend to your favorable notice Mr. Wm. A. Richards, now a citizen of Nebraska. Mr. Richards is a worthy, industrious young man, and well qualified for such work as our surveyor generals in new states and territories have to give. He is a young man who would highly appreciate any opportunity given him to make a fair start in the world. With great respect,

Your obedient servant,
U. S. Grant.

William Richards was well fitted for the life of a surveyor for he was physically strong and he was at the age when he welcomed adventure and to survey in Nebraska then meant adventure galore. He liked this kind of work so well that he supplemented his practical experience with hard study until he became a capable surveyor and civil engineer.

After spending several years surveying, William Richards returned to Omaha to take up the study of law under Judge E. Wakeley, but he did not practice. He appears to have been a very versatile young man for in 1871 and 1872, he was employed on the *Omaha Tribune* and *Omaha Republican* in editorial work for which he developed a good deal of talent.

During his sojourn in Omaha, he met Miss Harriet Alice Hunt and for the first time in his life became interested in women and in one in particular. Miss Hunt sang in the church choir. She had fine musical talent, which had been carefully cultivated from early youth and she

was prominent in all musical circles. When William Richards did fall, he fell hard. And from the time he met Miss Hunt until his death, there was only one woman in the world as far as he was concerned.

His summers were still spent in surveying in Nebraska and Wyoming. During 1873 and 1874, in partnership with his brother, Captain Alonzo Richards, he surveyed the southern and western boundaries of Wyoming. In Yellowstone Park with a party of surveyors, Richards shot a deer and wounded it. He did not like to leave a wounded deer so he followed it for a long way. He came upon an unnamed geyser. It was not shown on any of the maps. Years afterwards some scientist made himself famous by discovering the same geyser.

Returning from Wyoming, William Richards again took up surveying of public lands in Nebraska.

Miss Harriet Alice Hunt had moved to California with her parents and young Richards was not long in following. He procured a pass on the strength of the fact that he wanted to go out to be married but did not have the money for the trip. His audacity got him the pass. He was married to Miss Hunt in Oakland, December 28, 1874. They went to live in San Jose soon after the birth of their first child in 1876.

In 1877 he was elected County Surveyor of Santa Clara County and his private practice as a surveyor grew so rapidly that he was in a fair way of accumulating a fortune, when suddenly, out of a clear sky, came reverse. A serious illness compelled him to abandon work, his physicians believing that he had consumption and would not live a year. He went, upon advice of friends, to Colorado Springs, determined to recover his health and yet succeed. Here again his perseverance won the day. Within two years, during which time he did most strenuous outdoor work, he had regained his health and was elected county surveyor of El Paso County and city engineer of Colorado Springs. There was no holding this ambitious young man down. Wherever he went people soon knew about him and pushed him to the front.

He became attracted by the possibilities of irrigation and in 1884 went to the Big Horn Basin, Wyoming, where for three years he was engaged in constructing an irrigation ditch twenty miles long to irrigate twenty thousand acres of land near the present town of Worland. During this time, he made a homestead entry and desert entry at the foot of the Big Horn Mountains. This became known as the Red Bank Ranch. He was back on familiar boyhood ground once more and it was natural that he should begin

raising horses and cattle. Stock raising was the chief industry of Wyoming at this time.

In 1886 he interested a number of Colorado Springs men in the irrigation enterprise on the Big Horn River. Many claims were filed. He ran a line for a ditch taking water from the Big Horn. One by one the other men failed to prove up on their land, but he kept his, and later the town of Worland was built on what had been his land, later owned by the Red Bank Cattle Company, of which he was president and part owner.

When the Worland ditch was surveyed, his original line was followed but they went farther up the river for the beginning. Thus, it was in reality Governor Richards who began the first great irrigation project in the Big Horn Basin.

William Richards made his headquarters at his Red Bank Ranch, though his wife and two daughters, Alice and Ruth, still remained within the bounds of civilization, spending their time in Oakland, Omaha, and Colorado Springs, where husband and father could be with them part of the time.

One morning William A. Richards was at his ranch alone. His partner, Gus Colman, had gone off somewhere. There was snow on the ground and it was disagreeable weather so that Richards had not yet gone outside. He was in his cabin when suddenly the door opened and a couple of big husky bucks walked in carrying their guns. They demanded breakfast in no pleasant way. Richards complied with their demands, setting out some breakfast on the table. As they sat down, they leaned their rifles against the wall.

William Richards washed his hands and went over to the roller towel to dry them. His six shooter was hanging in its holster beneath the towel. When he went to dry his hands, he quickly slipped his gun out, pointed it at the Indians and told them to get out. He made them leave their guns. After they were outside, he called in the squaws and papooses and gave them their breakfast.

Among the Indians was an educated squaw who could speak English. The governor motioned to the bucks outside who were sitting on the woodpile and asked the squaw what they were saying.

"They are saying, 'What a strange fellow a white man is to have his squaws eat first'," said the woman in perfect English.

When he learned that she had been educated at some eastern school, he asked her why she still went about with the Indians, dressing and living as they did.

She said, "What else is there for me? If I stayed among the white people, I would have to work in their kitchens. I would not be one of them; I would only be among them. With my own people, I am at least an equal. But to live with them I must live as they live."

When the squaws had finished their breakfast, Richards called in the bucks and let them eat.

It was decided that family life was not at all satisfactory with one of the Richards living on a ranch and the rest here and there, having no home in particular. So in 1887 the family joined him at the Red Bank Ranch. It must have looked pretty forlorn to the gently raised Harriet Hunt for the house consisted of one large room, with a dirt floor and a sloping one at that. The "city folks" spent the next two weeks at a nearby English "home ranch" where they had many of the comforts foreign to most western ranches.

That first winter for the little family was a very severe one. Mail from the outside world was received but once, and several times travelers came in almost frozen to death. Mrs. Richards, city raised though she was, took it all happily and did not complain. Indeed, she became the sunshine of that section of the country.

The next spring an addition consisting of two large rooms was built to the house, and the goods which had been shipped from Colorado Springs the fall before, were brought in from the railroad at Casper, one hundred and seventy miles away, and installed in the new home. These goods included a massive, square Chickering piano which W. A. Richards hauled in himself on a trail wagon. Mrs. Richards had missed her music greatly at Red Bank, and trying to make the hard life of the ranch as pleasant as possible, Mr. Richards had decided she should have her piano, so he had had it shipped from Colorado Springs to Casper. They told him at Casper that he would never get it out to his ranch, but he did, and that, with an outlaw horse in his six horse outfit that no one but himself could handle. The outlaw was still so lively at the end of the journey that, scared by a rattlesnake, he came prancing into the ranch as though he had not pulled a heavy load for one hundred seventy miles.

W. A. Richards was not to be allowed the privilege of being a plain rancher. Already he was gaining a reputation for his exceptional abilities and was becoming known throughout that section of the country as an honest, industrious man with a level head and an ability for being fair in decisions.

A petition, signed by one hundred and twenty-two voters of the Big Horn Basin, was presented to Mr. Richards,

asking that he consent to become a candidate for county commissioner of Johnson county. Recognizing the claims of the settlers on that side of the range for representation on the board of county commissioners and the almost unanimous desire that Mr. Richards be their representative, the Democratic convention endorsed him and in 1886 he was elected to fill that office.

Part of each summer was necessarily spent at the county seat, Buffalo, ninety miles away, reached only by going over a range of mountains. He had to make a trip during one of the winters and had the misfortune to be caught in a heavy snowstorm. He was compelled to make part of the journey on foot in order to reach home where he found his family much concerned for his welfare.

The nearest school was sixty miles distant. Eleanor Alice, the oldest child, enrolled and succeeded in attending a few days. There were no churches, although Mrs. Richards did act as superintendent of a small neighborhood Sunday school. But neighbors were too scattered to have much of a Sunday school, the nearest neighbor being four miles distant.

During part of her residence at the ranch, Mrs. Richards acted as postmistress. When she answered a questionnaire to the effect that there were eight persons residing in the "town of Red Bank," the postal authorities at Washington, D. C., sent her a severe reprimand because she had not been more careful of her figures. They could not understand that a post office doing quite a large volume of business was not in a town, but it so happened that that post office covered a large section of the country.

"The only social life," says Eleanor Alice Richards, speaking of those days, "was the winter dances, where we would go in the evening, dance all night, and return home in the early morning. Sometimes we would catch a few hours rest and go on to the next party. One trip, I remember, occupied over a week as we went from Red Bank north to what was then Hyattville and back again. There were, that winter, about a hundred men in the Big Horn Basin and seven women, one of the seven being myself, only eleven years old. I was allowed to dance very little. The men were very respectful and well behaved. I remember at one dance that a couple of the boys who became intoxicated were taken out, placed on their horses and shown the way home. I do not remember seeing any intoxicated men at the parties. There were so many of them and so few women that they knew they must behave if they wished to have a good time. Some of the men were splendid, but some were not; some were honest, but some were crooks;

some were college graduates, but some were uneducated. Many had come for adventure; some to escape from deeds they had left behind. But all were chivalrous to the women and to the one lone little girl.

"My mother was very particular that we should get into no bad habits of speech or action and was very careful to see that I used good grammar and did not lean on the table when I ate, as I wanted to do, for some of the men did. I had many responsibilities as my mother had had a bad attack of muscular rheumatism before we left California, which had left her with joints that became badly swollen when much in water, and I had to do most of the dishwashing and help in every way I could. As our family was seldom less than eight, I was kept busy, but I never grew to dislike dishwashing. To this day I get a thrill in having everything nicely cleared up and put away."

W. A. Richards came in one evening from a trip to the railroad. The family and men all lingered long at the table for they were all eager for news of the outside world and Richards was a good narrator. But after a while he rose and said, "Come into the other room and we will open the packages."

The group responded eagerly, some of the men as curious as the little girls. First, he passed some candy, just one piece to each, the rest being put away to be "doled out" later to the children, piece by piece. Then he unwrapped an accordeon, asking Bill, one of the boys who worked on the ranch, to play. Bill required a good deal of coaxing, since he knew his limitations, but he finally tried to play Swanee River. It was terrible but all were patient. Finally, Tommy, a Welshman who sat in a far corner, blurted out, "Why all this butchery?"

Everyone turned on him. "Play it yourself if you don't like Bill's playing."

Much to the surprise of all present, Tommy took the instrument, fingered it lovingly, and began to play. Amazingly from the cheap instrument flowed music from the masters. Then followed the airs of his native Wales and folk songs. Never had the assembled company heard such music. They glanced at each other dumbfounded. Who was this man and why was he out here in the wilds? He played on, holding them all spellbound until Richards at last said, "Well, boys, it's time to turn in. We will hear more from Tommy later and tomorrow I send to town for a decent accordeon."

It developed that Tommy had been a master player in his village, had contended at the national Eistefford, but being disappointed in taking only second place, had taken

his prize money and had come to America and on to the West.

In 1889, W. A. Richards was employed at a salary as foreman of a large "cow outfit" by Crawford and Thompson, a company owning many thousand cattle. He was at work on the round-up when he was appointed United States Surveyor General for Wyoming by President Harrison. The family then moved to Cheyenne, leaving the ranch in the hands of a manager.

At this time George McClellan, better known as "Bear George," who was later senator, was working as cowboy on the ranch at Red Bank. Bear George had come into the Basin in 1887, stopping at Hyattville where he became famous as a bear hunter. At the time that McClellan came into the country, Mr. Richards had decided to raise horses to supply the cattle outfits, but the winter of '86 had put many of the big outfits out of business. Seeing this market was going to be no good, he decided to raise better horses, and he sent some pure-blooded heavy Percheron stallions to the ranch. Previous to this, he had had Ralph, a Kentucky stallion, who mated to Dude, an Indian mare, each the fastest of its kind in the Basin. Some fine colts were produced from this stock.

During a visit back to the ranch, Richards found one of the fine stallions dead. He said, "George, what killed the stallion?"

George replied, "Well, general, I guess I killed it, trying to cure a bad barbed wire cut."

This honest reply so pleased the surveyor general that he put George McClellan in charge of the ranch. Later, he was taken into partnership. Bear George was a unique character noted for his bear stories, some of which were true, and others were told with the usual exaggeration of an old-time westerner. Governor Richards delighted in telling stories of his foreman's hunting episodes.

McClellan was a large, well-built man, a daring hunter and an excellent shot and was without doubt the best bear hunter in the country. He had many hard and close fights with the bruin tribe. On one occasion he rode upon the bears and roping one, held him until he shot the other. With his horse plunging and rearing and the bears making for him he had a very exciting time of it. Altogether, he killed seven bears with nothing but a six shooter for a weapon.

At another time he killed an enormous animal, trailing him on foot and crawling through the underbrush and over fallen timber until he got him. For the hide of the bear he received fifty dollars.

In spite of his position in Cheyenne as surveyor general, Mr. Richards did not lose interest in the ranch or the community where he had been living. At this time he was one of the stockholders and a moving spirit in the Red Bank Telephone Company, a locally organized rural company with seventy miles of line and thirty subscribers. Practically all of the subscribers were stockholders, while Richards was general plant, traffic, and commercial superintendent, chief engineer and auditor.

The line ran from the Rocky Mountain Bell toll station at Lost Cabin over the Big Horn Mountains through the most remote and isolated parts of Wyoming to Tensleep.

"One winter," related W. A. Richards in speaking of this line, "I was passing a few months in California and my manager used to write me from time to time of conditions on the ranch, until the snow in the mountains got so bad that it was impossible for the mails to get any farther than No Wood, fifteen miles from the ranch. There were some things that Mr. McClellan thought I should know, so what does he do but call up No Wood on the telephone and dictate a three page letter over the wire to the clerk, who wrote it out and forwarded it to me in California."

He liked to tell this story of Bear George:

"I once had out with me for a hunting trip Dr. Harris of Chicago, who is one of the most noted surgeons of that city. On our way to the railroad at the end of his visit, we stopped at a ranch where word was awaiting us that one of the neighbors ten miles away was very sick and wanted the doctor to come over and see him. Dr. Harris had an appointment in the East and could not stop but he called up the sick man's ranch and asked his wife a few questions. She answered them and was told that the sick man had a severe case of appendicitis. 'You had better telephone over the mountain to Dr. Walker and tell him that if he doesn't operate in twenty-four hours, it will be too late.'

"With these instructions we continued our journey toward the railroad. Dr. Walker was forty miles away, but that night when I called up the ranch I learned that Mr. McClellan was down at the lower ranch administering the ether while Dr. Walker performed the operation by the light of a kerosene lamp. And the next night as we neared Casper, a hundred miles from the ranch, we again called up, and this time we found Bear George at home. 'How is your appendicitis patient?' asked Dr. Harris.

"Oh, he's all right. Me and the other Doc, we pulled him through,' and they did."

The advent of the telephone into the community was a real asset. It was especially useful for the spring or fall

round-up. When the foreman of the general round-up had wanted to assemble the riders and outfits, it had meant that a couple of men would have to ride three or four days in every direction to notify the ranchmen, and it would be almost a week before everyone could be ready to start. After the coming of the telephone, all they had to do was to call up the various ranches the night before and they would be ready by the middle of the following morning to start. The telephone was not only useful in the community, but it brought the outside world in closer touch, which was a great thing in the lives of those who lived miles from a town.

November 30, 1893, a successor was named by President Cleveland, the newly elected Democratic president, for the position of Surveyor General for Wyoming, and in February 1894, W. A. Richards took his family back to the Red Bank Ranch in Johnson County and resumed the business of farming and stock raising. City life had not spoiled him for work. That spring he "broke up" forty acres of sod himself and by irrigation raised 115,000 pounds of oats on it.

On August 4, 1894, W. A. Richards was nominated by the Republican State Convention as candidate for governor. This nomination was due to the energetic and efficient manner in which he had discharged the duties pertaining to the office of Surveyor General, for which place he was especially well fitted by previous occupation and experience. Before the convention it was believed that Frank Mondell would receive the nomination for governor; instead, he was nominated for congressman and Richards for governor. Upon receiving the nomination for governor, W. A. Richards made the following speech:

Before coming to Casper I was advised by one well-skilled in politics, to prepare myself with a speech, not to be delivered under such conditions as those which now exist, but a speech endorsing and ratifying the nomination for governor of my competitor, the gifted statesman from Weston County whom you have just nominated for Congress, Senator Frank Mondell. If the occasion had presented itself I could have congratulated you upon his nomination for governor with only a shade less enthusiasm and no less sincerity than that with which I now congratulate you upon his nomination for Congress. He will bring to the office of congressman, to which he will surely be elected, a wisdom in legislative affairs gained by years of service to

the state, a masterful mind, accustomed to the decision of questions of great importance with promptness and unerring judgment, and a patriotism and a devotion to his country and her best interests as represented by the Republican party second to none, and of which no greater guarantee could be asked or given than that shown by his magnanimous conduct today, which is appreciated by none so highly as by myself.

You have adopted resolutions that are good enough for any Republican. I stand squarely and firmly on the platform of Wyoming Republicans, adopted here today, and pledge myself to the principles therein enunciated.

In nominating me as your candidate for governor, you have conferred an honor which is fully appreciated. If the people at the polls in November shall certify to the wisdom of your action here today by electing me, then all the honor that the people can confer will have been given me. Whether or not the office brings any honor will depend upon myself and how I perform the duties which it imposes. An office only gives back to the holder and makes known the honor which he brings to it. From early youth I have cherished and been guided by the precept expressed by the poet when he said:

“Honor and fame from no condition rise:
Act well your part, there all the glory lies.”

The greater portion of those present need no introduction to me, and my official career is known to you all. I am inclined to believe that the manner in which my public duties have been performed has had a large influence upon your action toward me today.

If elected Governor I promise you that upon the appointed day I will walk up the broad steps of our capitol in full daylight; that I will enter the office through the open door and proceed to the discharge of my duties with a determination that business principles and devotion to the best interests of the state shall guide and govern my conduct. As to what part I will take in the coming engagement, I will say that my campaign has already commenced.

Although not a professional politician, politics will be my profession for the next three months, and I will devote my entire time to the interests of the party and the election of the whole ticket, and it is my sincere belief that when the election returns are made known, they will be received with a grand Republican cheer that will be heard from Egbert on the east to Evanston on the west, from Sheridan on the north to Saratoga on the south, and the echo of which will go rolling back from Rawlins to Red Bank.

From Mr. Duhig, a resident of Hyattville at that time:

When Richards was a candidate for governor, he was up in the Hyattville country. He was a man who had lived simply, and had never put on airs. It was supper time, and getting out of his rig, he dug out his towel and soap, straddled an irrigating ditch and washed for supper. He did not do this for effect nor to make a good fellow of himself. He did it because he was an old-timer and it was the natural thing to do. He did it without ostentation of any sort.

He entered actively into the campaign, making a thorough canvass of the State, for here was a man who did everything with thoroughness, and in November he was elected by the largest vote polled in the state of Wyoming up to that time. He was inaugurated in January 1895, and served until January 1899, a term of four years.

Frank Bond once wrote of him:

The sterling qualities of William Richards as a man and a citizen, his likable personality, always accessible, always ready to hear both sides of a controversy, always convincing even to the loser in a cause—these were the attributes of his mind schooled from its youth up, in fitting its owner for the duties of new undertakings, before it accepted their responsibilities. He was a successful surveyor and engineer before becoming Surveyor General; a man qualified in land laws and regulations before he became Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the step from Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner was easy, because, before his promotion, he had fully qualified for the greater and higher service. A similar condition of pre-

paredness preceded his nomination and election as Governor of Wyoming, so that, consciously or unconsciously, preparedness seems to have been his guiding star, leading him step by step up the stairway to a useful and worthwhile life. It was not scintillating brilliance but calm and measured dependability that insured the acceptable public service he always rendered.

During his term as governor there were several matters of more than ordinary interest and importance which came up for action. The first of these was a threatened invasion of the western portion of the State, in Jackson's Hole, by the Bannock Indians from the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho. These Indians had been in the habit of hunting in Wyoming regardless of our state statutes, which practice Governor Richards determined to stop, as he could see no reason why Indians should hunt in the State during the closed season, while Wyoming citizens were not allowed to do so. Several arrests were made of Indians who were violating the law and nominal fines were imposed, which did not have the effect of stopping them from hunting. Finally, one band resisted arrest, and, after they had finally surrendered to a superior force, attempted to escape. In the confusion which followed one of them was killed which led to the threatened outbreak. Several hundred hostile Indians congregated in the vicinity of the settlement in Jackson's Hole. This body of Indians was not alone composed of Bannocks, but renegades from all the surrounding tribes joined them and there was great danger of a very serious conflict. Governor Richards was confident of his ability to protect the people with the forces at his command, but the general government took charge of the matter and sent out a body of troops under command of Brigadier General Coppinger who dispersed the Indians without any fighting and compelled them to return to their reservations. Subsequently, a test case was taken into the courts to determine whether or not the Indians had a right to hunt in Wyoming, notwithstanding our statutory regulations, which right was claimed for them by the government on account of an existing treaty between the government and the Indians. This case was known as the "Race Horse" case, that being the name of the Indian who was tried. It became quite celebrated, being finally taken to the Supreme Court of the United States where the position of the governor and his action were fully sustained. This case furnished a precedent which has been followed by the governors of surrounding states in their management

of Indians with respect to hunting in violation of the statutes.

Governor Richards was Wyoming's war governor—his initials being W.A.R.—as well as being at the head of affairs during the Spanish-American War.

In the war with Spain the quota of Wyoming was fixed at one battalion of four companies of infantry, which was considerably in excess of the number which Wyoming should have furnished in proportion to its population. The call for troops was made upon the 23rd of April 1898, and by consolidating some of the companies of the national guard and disbanding one company in order to get its equipment, the quota of Wyoming was reported to the Secretary of War on May 10th as filled, each of the four companies having been mustered in with a maximum number of men, fully armed and equipped and ready for active service. Inquiry at the War Office upon that day elicited the fact that Wyoming was the first State to make such a report. Montana reported later the same day, May 10, 1898.

Shortly after this time, at the earnest solicitation of our delegation in Congress, who were directly representing the sentiment of the people, the government accepted a battery of light artillery, which was mustered in and together with the infantry battalion, rendered good service in the Philippines. Subsequent to this time seven companies of cavalry were organized in Wyoming and mustered into the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry; but these companies were not organized under the direction of the governor. This is mentioned only to show the unusual number of troops sent to this war from Wyoming, being more than five times the quota which we should have furnished according to our population.

A newspaper clipping:

Governor Richards' arrival in San Francisco proved a very fortunate thing for the Wyoming battalion. According to previous arrangement, it had been decided that our battalion, with other troops, would not get away with the detachment that sails tomorrow and would remain in San Francisco several weeks longer. Governor Richards became cognizant of the arrangement and commenced at once to endeavor to have the order changed and through General Otis and General Merritt, the battalion from this date was selected as a part of the third expedition. The boys feel very grateful to the Governor for his efforts on their behalf.

Governor Richards was filling his position to the satisfaction of everyone. His genial, cordial manner in greeting everyone, his readiness to listen to suggestions, the promptness with which he attended to business, won him a great deal of admiration. All of his appointments were made without a dissenting vote from the senate and it was said that he thought first of the people and then picked the man whom he thought could best serve them.

The Chicago Times Herald made an effort to ascertain the religious views of the governors of the states and territories. They received the following from Governor Richards:

I believe in the doctrines of Orthodox Christianity and try to make my life and actions conform to them. I have always been a church attendant and take great interest in church work. My parents were members of the Christian church and I was brought up in that faith. My wife and children are members and active workers in the Baptist church, and while I visit all churches, I attend that one more than I do others. I am at present a trustee of the First Baptist church of Cheyenne.

Eleanor Alice Richards was the private secretary to the Governor. At one time the papers were full of the "girl governor." This came about when the governor and his staff went to St. Louis, Missouri, to a meeting of southern and western governors. A reporter accosted Adjutant General Frank A. Stitzer asking for news. He told him that the daughter of the governor of Wyoming, a girl of twenty, was "acting governor." The reporter enlarged upon it and the item was published nationwide. Mrs. McCreery, the daughter referred to, says, "I received many letters, some from Mexico and fashion news from Paris. Several offers of marriage! I was in charge of the office but Secretary of State Burdick was the acting governor.

"Only one time did I act officially. The governor of Colorado sent up extradition papers. Both the governor and Secretary Burdick were away. It was an urgent case, so the attorney general, B. F. Fowler, gave me permission to sign the paper with my name following the governor's.

"Many of the old-timers, W. E. Schnitger in particular, always insisted that I was the first woman governor, but I really was not. My father, however, often would talk things over with me, then say, 'what is your opinion?', asking me to give him any immediate reaction. He believed in woman's intuition."

A clipping from an Omaha paper speaks thus of this girl governor:

The new woman has demonstrated herself rather strongly, she being at this moment governor of one of the sovereign states—Wyoming. The fact that Governor W. A. Richards of that state is visiting in Omaha at this time supplies an excuse for calling attention to the further fact that while he is away a woman—presumably a pretty woman and certainly a young woman—occupies the actual position of Governor of the State. This young woman is the Governor's daughter, Alice, who is his private secretary and whom he acknowledges has a grasp on the affairs of the office which is frequently superior to his own. While the Governor is away, this remarkable young person attends the affairs of the State, telegraphing him daily that all is well.

The coming of Governor and Mrs. W. A. Richards of Wyoming to Omaha brings a whiff of the old, young days to Omaha people who knew them back in the seventies—old, young days because, although those days belong to the long-ago town, the people were all young and enthusiastic.

"The last piece of work I did in Omaha," said the Governor, this morning, "was to write up the Nebraska State Fair for the old Republican, then under the management of Major Balcombe. That was in the fall of 1875, and it was the year of the great horse race between Randall, Dr. Peck's horse, and Lothair. Lothair was put into the three-minute race as a horse without a record and he won, much to the amazement of everybody, for, the betting was all on Dr. Peck's Randall. It was subsequently found out that Lothair was not the name of the horse at all, but that his name was Small Oaks and that he had a record of 2:15. Everybody in Omaha remembers that race, I think."

"Yes, I lived in Omaha between the years of 1869 and 1875 and my wife and I always look back to Omaha as our home. There have been great changes here, even in the last six years. A great deal that was prairie a few years ago is now thickly populated. I am returning from St. Louis where we went to attend the interstate competitive drill. Governors McIntire of Nebraska and Sapp of Colorado

were also in attendance and we were treated with princely hospitality. The town turned out for us and, I declare, we had a royal good time. We arrived in Omaha day before yesterday and yesterday were driven to Fort Crook by General Coppinger.
. . . ."

"In my absence I leave my office in charge of my daughter who is also my private secretary. What is her name? Eleanor Alice, but we leave the Eleanor off usually. She sends me telegrams daily of matters at the office and of the welfare of our children, for she is at the head of the two establishments during our absence."

In regard to what the new woman was doing in Wyoming, Governor Richards said that the Wyoming woman was not so deep in emancipation as her sisters of Colorado. "The Wyoming women," he said, "go out and vote intelligently at election, but the holding of public office is mostly confined to positions on the school board. We have no women legislators. My wife often votes for what she wants, but it is always done quietly."

"What of the West? Well, I can say as far as Wyoming is concerned that the State is fairly prosperous. We did not feel the depression as much as other states, perhaps because we have not so much to lose. But there is no doubt that times are easier and people are spending more money. Emigration to the State is almost too large. The development of Wyoming as everybody knows, depends as much upon the mineral productions as upon the agricultural. Besides the supply of coal there is an unlimited supply of oil. We cannot put much refined oil upon the market against the Standard Oil Company, but the shipping of lubrication from Casper is becoming a big business. Our agricultural prospects are bright. We have taken advantage of the Carey Arid Law and one million acres have been donated to the State on condition that we will get capital interested in making the arid land productive."

Governor Richards declined to be a candidate for re-nomination and also declined to be a candidate for United States Senator, although urged to allow his name to go before the legislature in that connection. Shortly after the

completion of his term as Governor, he was appointed assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office by President McKinley. He, with his family, moved to Washington and entered upon the duties appertaining to that office on the 4th of March 1899.

Here, as in every other position he held, ex-Governor Richards made a decided success of the job. The Oklahoma Indian lands were opened to settlement during his term of office as assistant commissioner. Up to this time, the "rush" method had been used, where first come, first served, was the rule of the day. This gave the man with the fastest horse and the meanest disposition a great advantage over others. In 1901 it was decided to open to the white people portions of Indian Territory, including the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservations. The rush method had never been a success and other means were sought. Victor Mudock, editor of the *Eagle*, Wichita, Kansas; Dennis Flynn, delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory; Willis Van Devanter of Wyoming, assistant Attorney General for the Interior Department (later on the Supreme Court of the United States) and William Richards, ex-governor of Wyoming, were all interested in plans for the opening of this new strip. The plan of a lottery which consisted of a properly conducted drawing was suggested and finally adopted. Judge Van Devanter said he knew of only one man who could conduct the affair properly and that was W. A. Richards, so he was put in charge and told to go ahead. He was given full charge with very little of the red tape which usually surrounds government tasks.

There were 2,000,000 acres of land, divided into 13,000 quarter sections, each quarter being a prize and worth from \$500 to \$53,000—the ones near Lawton, Oklahoma, the new town, being the most valuable. Any male citizen and any woman over 21, who did not own 160 acres of land, could enter his name for the drawing. To do so it was necessary to go to El Reno or Lawton, Oklahoma and register for the drawing. As always "land hunger" drew men and women from all walks of life and from all parts of the United States. Thousands flocked to these new towns, usually staying long enough to register, though many remained for the drawing. Mushroom towns grew overnight. Ten thousand strangers flocked through El Reno every day. Registration lasted from July 10 to the 26, at which time the drawing began and through all the rush of throngs, and the needed clerical work, the man at the head of the job, W. A. Richards, kept a cool head and a steady hand on things.

The contrast between the Kiowa-Comanche opening and all the former ones held in Oklahoma was noticeable, especially to those who had taken part in former drawings. Those former drawings had been mere farces. Men were forced to get their certificates and make the run besides. Applicants had to stand in line for two and three days; many of them slept on the ground, went hungry or paid exorbitant prices for piece lunches in order to hold their places in the long line. Others grew discouraged and sold their places in the line for five dollars and some as high as ten dollars, while others, who were acquainted or posted on the character of the grafters inside the booths, would sneak in the back way and put up from one to twenty certificates. Those who "stood in" would get a number and fill it in themselves. It was one of the most clumsy and fraudulently conducted proceedings ever witnessed.

In contrast to the chaotic methods employed in these drawings, ex-Governor Richards conducted his drawing with superior generalship and in such a way as to bring no criticism upon himself or the government. The registering was attended with no hardships, no fraud, no suffering. As high as 16,000 were registered at El Reno in one day. The line was never so crowded that it meant a long wait for the applicant to be registered. When the crowd grew, Richards extended the facilities for registering and all were promptly accommodated. There was never any charge of bribery and no complaints as to unfair treatment.

An incident connected with that opening throws light on the character of the man. The lands, it will be recalled, were disposed of under the drawing system. Each tract was numbered, and prospective settlers, prior to the opening, were obliged to register and draw a card bearing some number. There being more settlers than lots, many cards were blanks. The great demand for these lots attracted thousands of people to booths opened each morning. When the registration was well under way one day, Delegate Flynn of Oklahoma appeared in Governor Richards' office with his daughter.

"Richards," said he, "my daughter and I want to take a try at those lots. Those lines outside are mighty long, and if we went to the end we would not be able to register for hours. Can't you get me a number some other way?"

"Donny," replied the governor, a close personal friend of the jovial delegate, "I would help you if I could help anyone. But there is no way for you to get a lot except to fall in line, the same as any other man, and take your chances."

"But my daughter here can't stand in line all day. Can't you do something for her?"

"There is a special booth for women," replied Richards. "The line is not so long there, but she must take her place at the end."

A look of surprise and disappointment spread over the countenance of Delegate Flynn, as he departed for the end of the line and as his daughter sought out the tail of another.

That was characteristic of Commissioner Richards, influence had no weight with him. Right was right and he could not be budged from its path.

Following the registration, there was no run to the land open for entry, and there were none of the killings that accompanied former drawings. When the applicant registered his part was done. If he was lucky enough to draw a number, he merely waited and took his turn at selecting his piece of land.

During the registration days, each person who wished to register was given an entry blank which had to be filled out. This slip was deposited with all the other slips in one of two great boxes, ten feet long and two feet square and stirred with an iron dasher. When the drawing started, each name was numbered as it was drawn out and notice was sent immediately to the person whose name appeared on the slip. Many names were not drawn, but everyone felt that he or she had had a fair deal.

On August 6th the land was thrown open for entry, and for days before, the roads were filled with people walking, riding horseback, in carts, carriages, on bicycles, in fact in any fashion, in order to get to the new county seat, Lawton. They were a motley crowd with all manner of baggage. They came from all strata of life, all with the same idea of starting anew in a new country. There were more men and women present than had ever before gathered for such an opening. The tale is told that Number One was selfish and instead of choosing his hundred sixty acres in one piece with the boundary on the town line of Lawton, he chose two eighty-acre pieces adjacent to the town. A girl was Number Two and she, perforce, took the land next to his. But selfishness does not always win. His land was marshy, hers was on higher ground and dry, and in the end was more valuable than his. Besides, some squatters who were on his land, "squatted" all the harder and refused to get off until he used force.

Ex-Governor Richards laid out the townsite of Lawton which grew rapidly. It was not long until the entrants had drawn their land and the town settled down to the quiet of ordinary towns.

An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* gives all the credit for the success of the drawing to W. A. Richards. Dated 1901, the article reads:

There was this other trait about the El Reno crowd, it kept moving. The average man stayed in El Reno less than six hours. He did not lag superfluous on the stage after he had registered. And here is where your Uncle Sam came in. The registration was conducted with exact fairness and unusual rapidity. When one considers that 10,000 human beings, which are contrary and untractable creatures at best, were taken into a half-dozen hot, stuffy little tents, seated courteously, adorned with "good morning" or "good evening" and then divested of the needed information, all in ten working hours and that, too, without riot or rebellion, one may realize what a remarkable work the registration was. The credit for this work is entirely due to the good sense, tact, and efficient industry of former Governor W. A. Richards of Wyoming. He represented the land department at El Reno. Richards' success lay in the fact that he is a Westerner and knew how to handle a Western crowd.

A man stood in the line one day with a Winchester. An eastern man would have sent for a policeman, a southern man might have shown some authority in taking the gun away, but Richards took it away so gently, so politely, and withal so good-naturedly, that the gunbearer felt the obligation to return the former governor's kindness. The clerks, in opening the envelopes after the drawing, found that many Texas people had given their place of birth as Michigan. This was because Texans, fearing that politics was to control the lottery, agreed that they could deceive the managers of the lottery by appearing to be northern men living in Texas, and hence Republicans and subject to favors. But when the drawing was over, no state was prouder to belong to a government that could run a fair drawing than the Texas people. Richards had the friendship of all Texans—as well as the rest of the union. Richards was discovered to the government by Willis Van Devanter, assistant attorney general for the Interior Department, to whom much of the success of the opening is due. He drafted the bill which made the opening. He prepared the president's proclamation. He worked out most of the details

of the drawing and of the land filing that followed. Van Devanter was formerly chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wyoming.

Ex-Governor Richards laid out the townsite of Lawton. It lies on a hillside and it is two miles long, a mile wide, gently rolling and sloping toward the south and west. In it there is a courthouse square; two other squares are reserved for school houses, after the American fashion. But Richards could not know everything. A man who bought a lot in Lawton dug a well. Then he nailed a sign to a stick and stuck it up for him who runs to read: "From this lot to water—two hundred feet—DOWN!" But on the section just south of the townsite there is an abundance of water at fourteen feet. Lawton may move from Lawton to the land adjoining it. Still, this is not likely as most of the town has been sold, and improvements are beginning. Next year there may be a system of water works, and wells may become obsolete and archaic—as they are in most western towns of over two thousand inhabitants. According to the rules of the game which the settlers were playing, the townsite of Lawton was to be left clear of squatters for inspection until the lots passed into the hands of owners at the auction. But between the first and sixth of August, 25,000 people had gathered around the boundaries of Lawton and had built a town of tents. This town grew on the south and west sides of the townsite as plotted for the government. There were two principal business streets of the town which met at the southwest corner of the townsite—Grand Avenue running east and west, and Goo-goo Avenue running north and south.

This land opening was declared the most successful one that had ever taken place in the United States. Not only Secretary Hitchcock, but the President commended Mr. Richards for his success. The Oklahoma Capital also sent its congratulations. His home state rejoiced in his success, and this evaluation of his achievement appeared in the *Daily Leader*:

The specter of red tape, a haunting thing to most westerners, had faded to nothingness before Governor Richards' performance at El Reno. With nearly 10,000 people registered each day without discomfort, without confusion, without misunder-

standings, a lot of patriotic souls in this region are changing their opinion about the manner of the government down at Washington.

For while the westerner holds the government in dear esteem, honors it above everything else on earth, is ready to fight for it, and appreciates its vast capacity, he has always until now accursed its bureaus of the fault of masterful delay. He has had an idea that the government, in its departmental work, took its time—and that interminable.

Governor Richards, being a westerner and having worked daily with western men, knew not only their impetuosity, but their love of fair play. His conduct of the whole proceedings demonstrated his knowledge of the psychology of the western man. As stated in the press:

To find its own impetuosity, its unconventional haste, and full-blooded eagerness met with and satisfied by a clerical force from Washington, is to the West astounding. That a small body of these servants of the government, transplanted from the leisurely atmosphere of Washington departments could supply the demands of thousands of eager, quick-moving, nimble-thinking westerners who wanted to register at once, was at first beyond belief.

A great many stories, amusing as well as complimentary to the management, were told or published following the drawing. One is the story of a man who walked up to a booth and registered and then wanted to know where the line was so he could get into it and begin waiting.

Governor Richards was given great credit for the efficient organization of his forces. The blanks for registration had been greatly simplified, no doubt through his efforts. There were no intricacies of phraseology to puzzle the applicants. So little clerical work was required that the men claimed they were "put through" in two minutes. The officials at Washington "stepped up" considerably in the estimation of the common Western man.

In 1903 ex-Governor Richards received another well-deserved promotion, this time from President Theodore Roosevelt. He was now made Commissioner of the General Land Office, a position for which his work and acquaintance with public lands well fitted him. It was probably about this time that he wrote the following article on *Our Defective Land System*:

The entire arid region, agriculturally considered, presents a spectacle of arrested development. Not only are individual citizens suffering, but the states themselves are oppressed with a burden too heavy for them to bear. While the public land has been a blessing and a source of profit to the eastern states, it is all of the opposite to the arid states. Nearly every arid state is confronted by the same need, that of population. Nature has supplied every condition which prosperity requires. Under our feet is a rich soil, over our heads a genial sun and in our rivers the unused waters. We lack only people to utilize these resources. As conditions are now, the people are not coming. Many of those who do come are unable to secure a foothold. Settler after settler who attempts to create a home in the West finds the natural conditions too hard and gives up and goes elsewhere. The reason for this is found in the fact that irrigated agriculture is a capitalized industry.

The settler of Iowa and Kansas needed only a plow to cultivate the soil and a habitation to shelter his family. From the very first his labor was productive. The settler who comes to Colorado or Wyoming confronts an entirely different situation. Before he can begin to farm, ditches must be dug, dams built, and the land prepared for the distribution of water. The average cost of providing the water will reach \$10 an acre. The cost of preparing the land for its application is half as much more. If the land is taken up under the desert land act the government charges \$1.25 an acre more, and compels him to furnish maps and plans and the testimony of a multitude of witnesses to establish the fact that he is fit to roam at large and ought not to be in the penitentiary.

The combined outlay for the reclamation of arid land is therefore too great for the homeseeker without means. The man who can afford to expend \$20 an acre on land before he raises a crop does not have to come west to secure it. He can buy a farm in the wealthy and populous east. If the outlook is discouraging for a settler it is no brighter for the ditch builder. To divert the waters of our large rivers, aggregations of capital are required. Many of the canal systems already constructed have cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, and in a few in-

stances the outlay on single enterprises has reached millions. In nearly every instance the building of large canals to water public land has proven a financial failure. In the beginning of this sort of investment such results were attributed to mismanagement. It is now known that they are the almost inevitable results of our defective land system.

During all of his career as a public administrator, only once was W. A. Richards accused dishonorably. A disgruntled employee made the charge that he had gotten hold of land dishonestly. It was speedily disproved but the very fact that the charge had been made, grieved Governor Richards sorely, for he was proud of his honor as well he had a right to be. He prided himself on never having been in on a shady transaction. One day while governor, some of the leading men of the state had been consulting him. When they left, he remarked, "I wish they would not countenance underhanded methods. It is not necessary."

Not only was his public life one of honor but his private life as well. He was always a devoted husband and father. His secretary, when he was commissioner of the General Land Office, J. T. Macey, often commented on the fact that Wm. A. Richards' first move when arriving at the office in the mornings, was to see if he had anything to do for his family. That done, he went to work.

He often remonstrated with the clerks in the office for watching the clock. He told them they would never succeed that way. He could not brook inefficiency and the sot was to him intolerable. On one occasion, in a single order, he swept from the special service of the General Land Office seventeen bibulous individuals whose places had been obtained through pull and whose services were marked by inefficiency and graft.

In all of his public life, his leaning was toward the people and not the big powers. Many of the old cobwebs that had been years in weaving were brushed aside and shorter cuts to justice were established. As an employer he was considerate and kind; as a superior official, he had the respect and good will of all subordinates. One of the most treasured of his personal belongings was an expensive and elegant gold watch presented to him by the employees of the General Land Office at Washington upon the occasion of his retirement.

For many years it had been the practice of each commissioner of the land office to leave a picture of himself to be displayed in the offices at the expiration of his term.

Ex-Governor Richards while in Washington, D. C., had sat for a painting by A. A. Anderson, a portrait painter who often hunted in the West and who owned what are called Palette I, Palette II, and Palette III Ranches near Meeteetse, Wyoming; but the portrait did not suit him. Later, however, it was presented to the State of Wyoming.

When he failed to present the land office with a picture, Frank Bond, chief clerk of the office under Richards, and a close friend of the former commissioner, carved a likeness of his friend from a block of pine.* It was twenty-four by thirty inches and was regarded as a perfect likeness. It was about three months in the carving. An interesting letter concerning the wood carving came to the ex-Governor from the assistant commissioner.

My dear Governor:

It may be news to you that your reception yesterday was attended by a large number of your friends, who, but a short time before, were not aware of your presence in the office. It came about in this way. Mr. Bond, our Chief Clerk, has produced a most excellent likeness of you, done in relief on wood, a form of wood carving, so far as I know, entirely unique. The picture is about the size of those hanging in our office of the former Commissioners. The face stands out one and one-half inches from the base and presents your features in profile. The whole is overlaid with a light brown stain, deepening into darker shades. The likeness is remarkable, a matter about which your old friends and associates testify, without exception. As a matter of art, I am not capable of criticising the work (I know too little of such things) but it is certainly a most lifelike presentation of you as we knew you while you were here.

It occupies a prominent position in the Commissioner's room and when it had been put in place the Commissioner sent word through the office, and thereupon the reception occurred of which I spoke at first. The people were coming and going all day and admiring the picture, without exception.

It is framed in plain dark wood, and carries your name and date of your service on a silver plate at the bottom of the frame.

*This carved likeness of Mr. Richards is now in the State Historical Museum in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

I am writing about this myself somewhat fully, because I want you to know how we feel about the picture in the office and I know Bond will be too modest to tell you of what we regard a wonderful piece of work.

It was while W. A. Richards was commissioner that he presented the Methodist church at Rawlins with an addition to their parsonage. His daughter, Mrs. Alice McCreery, was the wife of the pastor of the church of that place.

On October 27, 1903, occurred the death of Mrs. Richards, one of the tragic events in the life of the former governor of Wyoming. She had always been a helpmate during the early struggles of married life and had filled the higher duties that came with the higher offices with all the graciousness of her station, even though the formal calls and entertaining were most distasteful to her. She was mourned by a large circle of friends in addition to her family.

In 1907 W. A. Richards returned to Wyoming and his ranch, but the public would not let him enjoy private life. The following year he was appointed State Tax Collector, a newly created and most important office.

It would seem that such a busy man would have no time for hobbies, yet the ex-Governor's hobby was hunting. He joined a New York sportsman's group and qualified as having killed almost every kind of wild animal in America. His name was published in their honor roll in *Field and Stream* along with such notables as Theodore Roosevelt. In all he had killed forty different kinds of animals, among them a bison, moose, deer, mountain sheep, and grizzly bear. In his honor claim he has written:

In September 1869, I killed a wounded buffalo bull, able and willing to fight, with a hunting knife. George Kendall now of San Bernardino, California, witnessed it. I was near the Republican River, Nebraska, an Indian country. We were afoot, had only three cartridges, were miles from camp and I wanted the bull's scalp. This does not appear sportsmanlike now, but the plains in those days pastured millions of buffalo—I appreciate the reasons for omitting buffalo from the list, but throw this in for good measure.

Richards was a crack shot and enjoyed this sport immensely but he never killed wantonly.

During his later years, the former governor became much interested in western history but he had very little time to devote to it for with all his public duties, he was still actively interested in his ranch at Red Bank.

In 1912 occurred the tragic death of one of his daughters who with her husband was residing on a place near the Red Bank Ranch. Going to their home one day, the bodies of both husband and wife were found dead, one on the bed inside the house, the other in the yard some distance from the house. What occurred to cause the murder of these two young people has always been a mystery through the years and is today still unsolved. Coming a few years after the death of his wife, it broke Governor Richards to such an extent that his friends began to notice his failing health. In an effort to see him returned to his usual self, his friends persuaded him to go to Australia at the request of Dr. Elwood Mead, who was chairman of the State Water Commission of Melbourne. He gave freely of his knowledge of the science of irrigation which was new to Australia. In a letter to a friend, he stated that he found conditions very pleasant in Australia and that he had decided to stay longer and spend the remainder of the year in travel and in visiting with his daughters. After the tragedy of the death of his youngest daughter, the Governor could no longer bear to spend his time on his beautiful ranch which he had always loved so much.

Then suddenly came the news of his death. On July 25th, 1912 he died from a heart attack. The following account of the death of Governor Richards was printed in a daily paper in Victoria, Australia:

The career of a distinguished American citizen who had intended to make his home in Victoria was cut short by the death of former Governor Richards of Wyoming, which occurred suddenly early yesterday morning at Mena-house, a private hospital at East Melbourne. The body will be carried back to America on the steamer, Sonoma, by which Mr. Elwood Mead, who was a close personal friend of the deceased gentleman, will travel from Sydney this afternoon.

The late Mr. W. A. Richards came to Victoria on a visit with the American land seekers' excursion in May, with the object of inspecting the irrigation areas of the state, and also of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Mead. He made so many friends in the state, however, and was so favorably impressed with the irrigation districts, that he decided to stay

here. He had only recently applied for an allotment at Shepparton.

On Thursday Mr. Richards attended the farewell luncheon at state parliament house in honor of Mr. Mead. He was in his ordinary health at that time, but when walking in the street subsequently with Mr. Mead he complained of pain in the region of the heart. At Mr. Mead's suggestion he consulted Dr. Mackeddie, whose surgery they were passing. Dr. Mackeddie took him to the hospital. Mr. Richards did not then appear to be seriously ill, but he had a heart seizure early yesterday morning and died at four o'clock.

Mr. Mead was much affected by the sudden death of his old friend yesterday. He cabled the news to Senator Warren of Wyoming, and Mr. E. F. Adams of San Francisco. Mr. Mead was also asked by the state ministry on its behalf to make all necessary arrangements for the conveyance of the body to America, and to express the cabinet's sympathy with the relatives of Mr. Richards.

The deceased was a wealthy widower, 63 years of age. He leaves two married daughters in America. Prior to his visit to Victoria he suffered severely from shock as the result of the murder under painful circumstances, of another daughter and her husband.

Many years ago, when they were friends in Wyoming, Mr. Richards and Mr. Mead together bought a cemetery allotment, saying they would be buried there when they died, side by side. "I am taking the body to America with me," remarked Mr. Mead, when interviewed yesterday prior to the departure of his train, "because I feel that in doing so I am paying a tribute to an old friend who died in a strange land. It is all I can do. He will be buried in the allotment he and I bought together before either of us thought of coming to Australia."

Mr. A. A. Sleight carried out the arrangements. The body was embalmed and robed in an evening dress suit (the American custom) and hermetically sealed in lead and oak caskets.

From a Wyoming paper came the following:

When, yesterday, in a foreign land, half the world's span distant from the state he loved and served so

well, William A. Richards died, Wyoming lost an able and distinguished citizen and hundreds of Wyomingites were bereaved of a warmly admired friend.

News of the death of Governor Richards will carry regret into every quarter of the state. During his long public service he became associated with men representing every locality of the commonwealth and through their reflection of his strength and virile progressiveness his influence was felt in all Wyoming in a manner which could not be attained through mere official functioning.

Governor Richards served Wyoming as chief executive at a critical period in the progress of the young commonwealth; to his wise administration may be credited much of the concurrent substantial advancement of the state. In federal and other state offices he rendered valuable executive and constructive service.

He had a most winning personality and was probably the most entertaining story-teller in the state. His fund of historical and political reminiscence was inexhaustible. Only those who knew him well fully appreciated this phase of his versatility.

Since retirement from public office and private business, Governor Richards had marked out for himself a course of reading and was doing a great deal of studying which he said, he had not had time for in his busier days.

When we last talked with him he was reading the history of the French Revolution and the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, and he discussed both in a most interesting manner.

W. A. Richards, while ordinarily regarded only as a plain business man and stockman called into public life, possessed a very keen, analytical mind, and President Roosevelt once said he would trust W. A. Richards' judgment and conclusion on a proposition as fully as that of any man he ever knew.

W. A. Richards' death is a distinct loss to Wyoming.

No further eulogy of this splendid man need be added other than the words of a friend, who said that Governor Richards was one of the great men of his time!

The Congressional Career *of* *Senator Francis E. Warren from 1890 to 1902*

By ANNE CAROLYN HANSEN

Continued from last issue.

CHAPTER VI

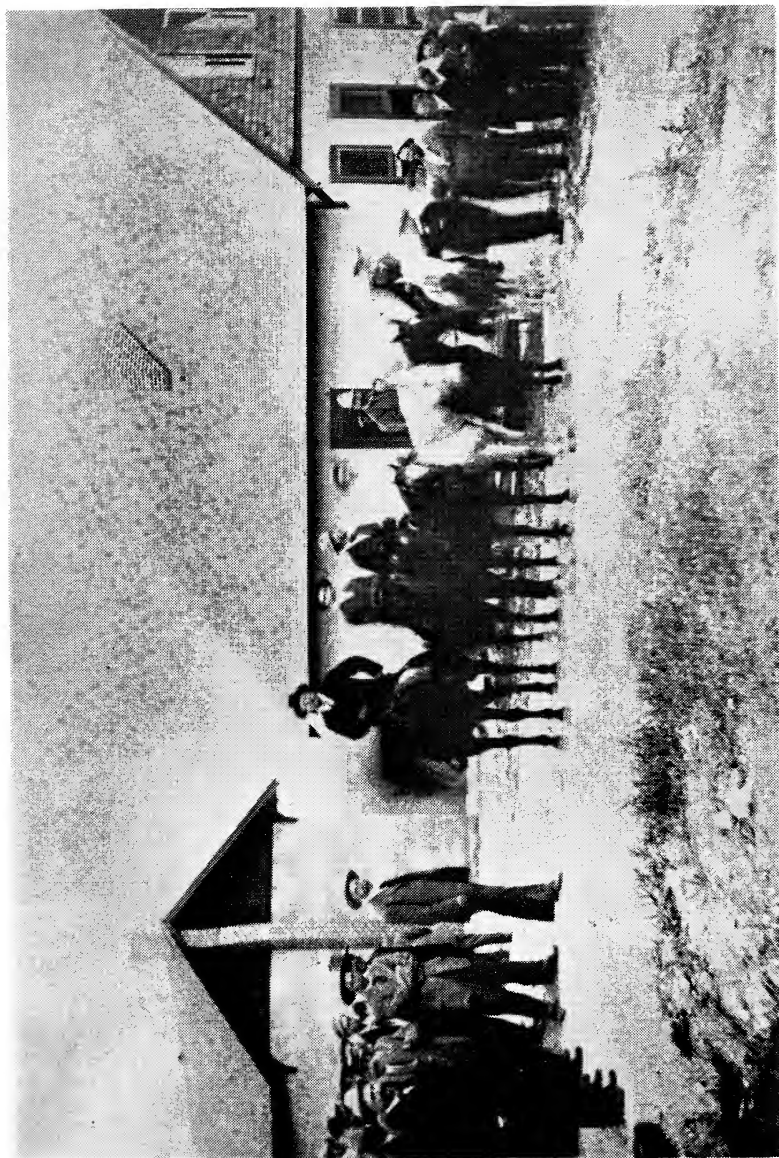
WARREN AND PUBLIC LANDS LEGISLATION

At the time of Warren's election to the Senate there was a general lack of understanding in the eastern sections of the country as to the effects of the application of the existing land laws in the western arid region. Webb says in *The Great Plains*, "It is not too much to say . . . that no law has ever been made by the Federal government that is satisfactorily adapted to the arid region."¹⁶⁰ The range cattle economy was based upon the theory of the right to the free grazing of livestock upon the vast unoccupied areas of the public domain. When the ranchmen took advantage of this alleged right, they were bitterly criticized by the settlers of the more humid sections of the East. The stock growers of the Middle West thought it unfair that these cattle which grazed upon the public domain should enter into competition with their stock produced on land which they owned and upon which they were required to pay taxes.¹⁶¹ The eastern Congressmen could not comprehend that ranching on the unirrigable reaches of the arid plains was vastly different from farming in the Middle West where a homestead of a few acres was sufficient to provide a livelihood. Osgood says:

Absurd as it was to talk about one-hundred-sixty acre homes for poor men in a country where it took anywhere from ten to thirty acres to furnish grass enough for a range steer, the country in general continued to think of this problem of adapting

¹⁶⁰Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 399.

¹⁶¹Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), pp. 179-183.



Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, with Governor Brooks and Senator Warren at one of the Warren Ranches, 1910

the land laws to the arid West in terms of agriculture as it was known in the Middle West.¹⁶²

Major Powell in his report on the lands of the arid region of the United States recommended that the farm unit on pasturage lands should not be less than 2560 acres.¹⁶³ Osgood points out that the average size of farms in Wyoming in 1890 was 885.9 acres.¹⁶⁴

Of the three common methods of obtaining land under the laws of the United States—the Homestead Act, the Desert Land Act, and the Timber Culture Act—none was successfully adaptable to the conditions in the West and all were susceptible to fraud and speculation. Under the Homestead Act of 1862 settlers could acquire farms of one hundred and sixty acres free, except for a minor fee paid at the time of filing, with the condition that they must live on such homesteads for five years before getting their titles to the land. The ill fated Timber Culture Act was an attempt to increase the humidity. It provided that any person who would plant, protect, and keep in healthy growing condition for ten years, ten acres of trees would receive title to a quarter-section of land of which the ten acres was a part. Under this act great tracts of land were held for range purposes for two or three years with little pretext of compliance with the law. The same land was often entered, held for two or three years, and relinquished again and again in the process which went on indefinitely.¹⁶⁵ The Desert Land Act of 1877 permitted a desert land entry¹⁶⁶ of six hundred and forty acres to a settler who would irrigate it within three years after filing. A payment of twenty-five cents per acre was to be made at the time of filing and of one dollar at the time of making proof of compliance with the law. Under this act great areas of land came to be held speculatively by large cattle companies. Hibbard says:

In Wyoming a great deal of so-called ditching was done by plowing a few furrows or by cutting a ditch one foot deep where eight feet were needed. Moreover these ditches failed to follow the contour

¹⁶²Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁶³Quoted in Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

¹⁶⁴Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁶⁵Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

¹⁶⁶"Desert land" meant any land within the states of Arizona, California, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, excepting mineral and timber lands, that was not susceptible of cultivation without irrigation. In 1891 the provisions of the act were applied to Colorado. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

of the land with reference to the habits of water and often they began where there was no water to be conducted and ended where there was no field to receive; cattle companies contracted with themselves to put in the irrigating system.¹⁶⁷

William Andrew Jackson Sparks, Commissioner of the General Land Office under President Cleveland, said in his report of 1885 that the history of public land entries in the West had been "one common story of widespread, persistent land robbery committed under the guise of the various forms of public entry."¹⁶⁸ Determined to put an end to fraud under the public land laws, Sparks cancelled all entries which were suspected of being fraudulent. The *Sun-Leader* said,

"During the time Land Commissioner Sparks held high sway over the West it was impossible to prove upon desert land claims and many were abandoned."¹⁶⁹ Warren, as governor of the territory of Wyoming and representative of the cattlemen, protested to the Land Office. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1886 he declared:

. . . that land matters in Wyoming are misunderstood and misjudged [and that] . . . if an over zealous course is pursued and the acquirement of land by bonafide entrymen is made so difficult as to amount to almost proscription, very great injury is done to the class sought to be benefited by such efforts. . . . Well meant, iron-clad instructions do not so much hinder frauds as they embarrass and impoverish the poor pioneer.¹⁷⁰

When he became Senator, Warren tried to enact a law for the relief of those persons who had lost their claims by the cancellation of their entries. In 1894 Warren introduced a bill providing that if before March 3, 1891, under the Desert Land Act of 1877, any person made the first payment of twenty-five cents per acre and had filed a declaration of his intention to reclaim a tract of desert land and was unable for any cause, other than his own fraudulent or unlawful act to make final entry, he should be

¹⁶⁷Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

¹⁶⁸Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁶⁹*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, January 28, 1894. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁷⁰Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

refunded his first payment. Warren's bill failed to pass and he introduced the same bill in following sessions.

After repeated demands of the Land Commissioner, Congress in 1891 repealed the Timber Culture and Pre-emption Acts and amended the Desert Land and Homestead laws. The important changes made in the Desert Land Act provided that three dollars per acre should be expended upon the land for reclamation and that water should be made available for the entire amount, one-eighth of which should be put under cultivation. Osgood thus describes the general reaction among the small settlers:

The repeal of the preemption and timber culture laws, and the modification of the Desert Land Act appeared to them to be the work of the tools of the big corporations. After allowing the "cattle kings" to get all they desired, the Government now permitted the *status quo* to be preserved by reducing the settler to a mere 320 acres of desert land, which he could not possibly irrigate.¹⁷¹

Warren received the condemnation of the small settlers because of his vote for the bill. The *Cheyenne-Leader* for March 6 bitterly criticized Warren's vote on the bill and called the act "the most damnable blow that has ever been aimed at the interest of the poor and struggling people of the West."¹⁷² The article continued:

It practically gives every big land owner in the West a title to all the government land which he has enclosed with his railroad land. Until now any citizen or settler might go within the wire fences of big corporations and by filing a pre-emption claim secure title with comparative ease while at the same time earning his living elsewhere. Where is the settler now who would undertake to live for five years on such land to secure one hundred sixty acres that it is impossible to irrigate? He couldn't raise crops because he couldn't get the water with which to irrigate and the poor man who undertook it would slowly starve to death long before this generous American government would

¹⁷¹Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁷²*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 6, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

give him title to the paltry one hundred sixty acres of arid land.¹⁷³

Perhaps it was because of the condemnation which Warren and other Republican Senators received that the next year Warren introduced a bill to reenact the preemption laws which had been repealed. This bill failed to pass and was unsuccessfully introduced in subsequent sessions.¹⁷⁴

It has been noted above that the early Western cattleman depended upon grazing his cattle upon the open range. As the land laws did not provide for leasing or selling grazing land in tracts large enough for utilization for grazing, the cattleman simply took what he wanted. He established his right to the land simply by prior use, and resented any intrusion on his domain. As more and more ranchers were attracted by the alleged profits of the range industry the range became crowded. In the 80's and 90's sheep began to displace cattle on the range and conflicts between the sheepmen and cattlemen were inevitable. The theory of the open range was denied and "dead lines" were drawn beyond which the sheepmen passed at their own peril. At the same time settlers were filing on land which barred the cattlemen from water. These settlers built fences which in winter were a deadly peril for drifting herds which might pile up against a fence and smother. The range became overstocked and close grazing ruined the grass. The culmination was the disastrous winter of 1886-87 which wiped out complete herds.

¹⁷³*Ibid.* The preemption right was mainly a possessory right, established by the construction of a dwelling house and the making of improvements. For many years the preemption privilege secured the settler in his right to purchase, at a minimum price, before the date of the general sale of the tract of which his claim was a part. After the passage of the homestead law and the discontinuance of the general sales, this provision was hardly applicable. Hence, it was provided that the preemptor should file his declaration of intent to purchase within three months after settlement upon the land, or in case it was not surveyed at the time of settlement within three months after the filing of the survey plat, and should make payment within fifteen more after filing his declaration. Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁷⁴In 1897 Warren introduced a bill to allow persons "who had commuted homesteads to avail themselves of the provisions of the Homestead Act." *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67. It cannot be determined exactly what Warren intended to accomplish by this act without having access to the provisions of the bill. Under the commutation clause of the Homestead Act the settler might preempt his homestead and pay the minimum price of \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre for it. From 1881 to 1904 a total of 22,000,000 acres or twenty-three percent of homesteads were commuted. Under this clause forested lands could be secured by paying as low as \$1.25 per acre. Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ff.

It became apparent that some regulations must be imposed upon the use of the range to prevent its further destruction. Elwood Mead in 1910 thus outlined his ideas on the administration of the grazing lands:

If the value of the grazing lands is to be preserved, there must be some sort of administration which will put an end to the destructive overstocking and make it to the interest of individuals to protect and improve the areas they use. Whatever shape legislation takes, it should provide for the union of the irrigable and grazing lands. The irrigated homestead should be reduced in size in order to provide homes for the largest number of people, but its reduction should be offset by giving to the settler the right to lease a larger, but limited, area of grazing land. The chief industry in much of the West will always be the growing of livestock. Uniting the irrigable and grazing lands will divide the latter into a multitude of small holdings, increase the number of people benefited, and make the growing of live stock attractive to many who are now repelled by the risks and controversies of the open range.¹⁷⁵

Mead recommended that grazing lands be leased rather than sold.

Warren was aware of the need for legislation to provide for the leasing of range land. His arid land bill, which has been discussed above in connection with irrigation, provided for the leasing of pasturage lands. Following are the provisions of the bill in regard to the utilization of range lands:

All lands not subject to reclamation and useful only for pastoral purpose, and not taken under the foregoing provisions of this act, may be apportioned or leased to actual settlers and used in tracts not exceeding the lands lying contiguous or adjacent to any such settler's lawful claim or entry of land, under such stipulations or at such prices as the respective Legislatures aforesaid may by law prescribe, the apportionment of contiguous or adjacent pasture lands being held to mean a division of lands, so that each settler shall be entitled to rent the pasture lands which lie nearer to the lands of such settler than to those of any other settler,

¹⁷⁵Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

excepting as limited or bounded by mountain ranges, highland divides, deep canons, or other natural boundaries of different watersheds, hydrographic basins, or parts thereof, in which cases the said natural boundaries and barriers shall prevail.¹⁷⁶

Warren's bill anticipated Mead's subsequent recommendations in several respects. Both recommended the leasing of grazing lands as the most satisfactory way of utilization, and both provided for the union of irrigable and pasturage lands. Warren's bill limited the size of a holding to three hundred and twenty acres which was similar to Mead's recommendation that the irrigated homestead should be reduced in size.

The initiation of the policy of the United States government to set aside forest lands as reservations further reduced the amount of grazing lands available for the rancher. The open parks of the forest areas offered ideal summer pasture for sheep and cattle. Grass was abundant throughout the driest months of the year and mountain streams solved the difficult problem of securing water for herds. By 1890 Congress was becoming aware of the increasing need for legislation to protect and conserve the forest lands. By act of Congress in 1891 the President of the United States was authorized to set apart forest reservations on the public domain of the United States. Under this act President Harrison removed 13,416,710 acres of forest land.¹⁷⁷ In the sundry civil bill approved June 11, 1896, an appropriation of \$25,000 was made to "enable the Secretary of the Interior to meet the expenses of an investigation and report by the National Academy of Sciences on the inauguration of a national forestry policy for the forested lands of the United States."¹⁷⁸ Among others appointed on the commission were Alexander Agassiz, the famous botanist, and Gifford Pinchot, who later became Chief Forester. The commission began work July 2, 1896, and spent three months studying and visiting forest reservation sites. They recommended the establishment of thirteen additional forest reservations containing an aggregate area of 21,379,840 acres. The recommendations included the establishments of the Black Hills reserve¹⁷⁹ of South Dakota with an area of 967,680 acres and the Big Horn

¹⁷⁶*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., July 21, 1892, p. 6486.

¹⁷⁷Van Hise, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁷⁸*United States Statutes at Large*, XXIX, p. 432.

¹⁷⁹The report stated, "The forests on this proposed reserve have suffered seriously from fire and the illegal cutting of timber, the mines in this whole region having been practically supplied with timber and fuel taken from the

reserve with an area of 1,198,080 acres and the Teton Forest reserve with an area of 829,440 acres in Wyoming, and other proposed reserves in Montana, Washington, Idaho, California, and Utah. In accordance with this report on February 22, the one hundred and sixty-fifth anniversary of Washington's birthday, President Cleveland issued a proclamation adding approximately 21,000,000 acres to the United States forest reserves. The proclamation aroused considerable antagonism in the states concerned including Wyoming. On May 6, 1897, Warren presented letters and memorials relating to the new forest reserves. Included was a letter from Elwood Mead stating:

The present forest law is not only inadequate—it is unnecessarily oppressive. The law is inoperative so long as there are no patrols for the preservation and management of these reserves and there is no sense in prohibiting mining. There should be some provision for the legitimate use of timber by settlers on contiguous lands and some inexpensive process by which rights of way for needed roads, reservoir sites, and irrigation canals and ditches could be secured. None of those things would impair the usefulness of reservations, while their absence makes them a menace to local development and are clubs in the hands of those opposed to the whole reservation policy.¹⁸⁰

A letter from Governor Richards of Wyoming claimed that the commission made no adequate study of the Big Horn Reservation, and that there were valuable mining areas and reservoir sites included in the reservation, the development of which could not be continued under the order. He said, "It withdraws from the settlers occupying this region opportunity of making a legitimate or harmless use of the timber, and in one way and another vitally affects fully one-fourth of the people of the State."¹⁸¹ A meeting of the business men of Sheridan County, Wyoming, adopted this resolution which Warren presented in Congress:

Therefore be it resolved by the business men of Sheridan County, Wyoming, that we emphatically protest against the said action of the president in

public domain." *Senate Documents, Report of the Committee Appointed by the National Academy of Sciences*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., 1897, p. 39 ff. (Serial No. 3562, Document 105)

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Document No. 68, p. 1 ff. "New Forest Reservations."

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 7.

withdrawing such lands from settlement and development as destructive of the material business interests of the State and will entirely prevent the further development of northern Wyoming.¹⁸²

On May 5, Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota offered an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill appropriating \$150,000 for a survey of forest reservations and sites. The amendment provided for regulations governing forest reserves, allowing permits for the free use of timber and stone by settlers, miners, etc.; allowing prospecting and mining; and reserving the rights of the states to the use of the water on such reservations.¹⁸³ A proviso attached suspended the act of President Cleveland in setting aside these forest reserves. In a speech supporting the proviso, Warren voiced his belief in state control of forests and declared that he would like to see the order creating the reservations "abrogated in toto." He said:

The unfortunate part of the Executive order that was issued regarding these reserves is that it does not touch many places where we should like to have reservations laid out and where timber abounds, but it does include a great many localities where there is no timber of consequence and where there are large settlements.¹⁸⁴

Warren voted for the amendment with the proviso which was accepted by the Senate in a vote of twenty-five to twenty-three. The Senate's action in suspending the order was criticized in the East. An editorial in the *Harper's Weekly* accused the Senate of working for the mining corporations:

The chief depredators are great mining corporations like the Anaconda in Montana and the Homestake in South Dakota. These corporations take out millions of feet of timber every year on the permits granted by the Interior Department under

¹⁸²As late as 1902 people in Wyoming were protesting about the creation of forest reserves. An article in the *Lander Clipper* for November 7, 1902, said, "The new forest reserve recently created in the Big Wind River Valley is an outrage upon the people and meets with popular disapproval. Senators Warren and Clark and Representative Mondell will be appealed to by petition. Forest reserves are alright, but in Wyoming the proposition is being carried to a silly extreme." Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁸³This part of the amendment without the proviso was in accord with the policy of the President and the Secretary of the Interior. *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., May 5, 1897, p. 899.

¹⁸⁴*Loc. cit.*, May 6, 1897, p. 913 ff.

the law. . . . In the meantime small settlers cannot obtain the timber that they actually need. In view of what was to be prevented and of what was to be accomplished it might have been supposed that the order would be left undisturbed. But the timber-depredators had the ear of the Senate, and an amendment annulling the order was added by that body to the sundry civil bill.¹⁸⁵

With the segregation of great areas of national forest lands, Western stock owners began to demand that the grazing of cattle and sheep be permitted within the reserves. The policy of the government to prohibit such grazing aroused the opposition of the sheep and cattle owners. In 1899 the Wyoming Legislature passed a memorial asking Congress to modify the rules and regulations governing the forest reserves to allow the "unrestricted grazing of livestock."¹⁸⁶ When the Secretary of the Interior ordered the exclusion of livestock from the Uinta reserve, Warren protested. In a letter to the Wyoming Industrial Journal, Warren asserted that he had tried to induce Secretary Hitchcock to revoke the order of exclusion relating to the Uinta reserve and "to convince him that the very laudable and praiseworthy effort of the government to preserve the forests would not suffer by allowing livestock to range upon the reserves."¹⁸⁷ When in the winter of 1899 Warren and Mondell requested of Hitchcock that permits be issued to allow sheep to be wintered in the forest reserves of Wyoming, the Secretary replied that Congress had created the reserves for the purpose of preserving the water sheds and that he had been informed that sheep grazing denuded the forests of the undergrowth and thus partly defeated the law in its purpose.¹⁸⁸ The Report of the committee appointed by the National Academy of Sciences had stated that allowing grazing would destroy the seedling trees and prevent natural reproduction, thus ultimately destroying the forests.¹⁸⁹ The Secretary had, therefore, determined to restrict rather than extend the grazing privileges and would certainly not allow sheep to winter within the limits of the reserves.

¹⁸⁵*Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1897, Vol. 41, p. 307.

¹⁸⁶*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 13, 1899, p. 1781.

¹⁸⁷Clipping from *Daily Sun-Leader*, July 29, 1899, in Warren Scrapbook. There were several different views in regard to allowing sheep to graze on the reserves. Gifford Pinchot said that to regulate pasturage if it was correctly done was usually better than to prohibit it altogether.

¹⁸⁸*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, December 11, 1899.

¹⁸⁹*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., 1897, p. 20 ff. (Serial No. 3562, Document No. 105.)

In 1899 when it was proposed to set aside the Medicine Bow National Reserve in southeastern Wyoming, Warren tried again to secure the grazing of sheep on the reserves. In a letter he wrote to Hitchcock, Warren said:

In this connection I suggest that cattle and sheep be not excluded indiscriminately from grazing within forest reserves. They should be excluded from places where it is all timber and where there is young hard wood growth which the livestock would devour, but, where there is a coniferous growth only, the livestock need not be excluded.¹⁹⁰

The culmination of the stockmen's attempt to secure the right to graze their flocks in forest reserves occurred in 1900 when the General Land Office initiated the policy of allowing the grazing of sheep and goats in the forest reserves under regulation of the Land Office. The report of the National Conservation Commission stated, "It has been found that reasonable grazing has been of great benefit in keeping down the full growth of grass and so making the control of fires vastly easier."¹⁹¹

Warren tried to secure for the state school fund of Wyoming the money secured by the federal government from the sale of coal lands on school sections. The act admitting Wyoming as a state set aside sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township for school use, except mineral lands. The state was authorized to select an equal quantity of other unappropriated lands if the Department of the Interior found that parts of section sixteen and thirty-six were mineral lands. Warren introduced a bill providing that the government should pay the state of Wyoming for the use of public schools all money received from the sale of land in these school sections. An article in the *Cheyenne Sun* declared that if the bill passed it would "be of immense benefit in making Wyoming pre-eminent among states in its educational facilities and endowments."¹⁹² A letter from S. W. Lamoreux, Commissioner of the General Land Office, stated that prior to the admission of Wyoming as a state, 1,850 acres had been sold at a total price of \$28,525 and that subsequent to the state's admission 400 acres had been sold

¹⁹⁰*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, October 4, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The Medicine Bow forest reserve was created in 1902.

¹⁹¹*Senate Documents*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., II, Reports of National Conservation Commission, 1908-09, p. 423 ff. (Serial No. 5398)

¹⁹²*Cheyenne Sun*, March 25, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

at a total price of \$5,200.¹⁹³ The legislature of Wyoming in 1893 had memorialized Congress to the effect that instead of the selection of lands by the state in lieu of any of the lands of sections sixteen and thirty-six which proved to be coal lands, the United States should pay to the state all money realized from the sale of such coal lands. Such money was to constitute a part of the permanent fund for the benefit of the common schools of the state.¹⁹⁴ Warren was attempting to carry out the policy outlined by the Legislature of Wyoming.

Warren was anxious to secure the grants of federal lands to the states for the support of educational and charitable institutions. This was in line with the Morrill Act of 1862 which granted federal lands to those states which would establish and maintain agricultural colleges. The funds derived from the sale or rental of such lands was to be applied towards the support of such colleges. Warren introduced several bills in line with that policy. In 1894 and several succeeding sessions he introduced bills granting to the states federal lands, the proceeds from which were to be used for the endowment and support of state normal schools.¹⁹⁵ In 1897 he introduced a bill granting each state 100,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress for the support of public institutions.¹⁹⁶ Also in 1897 he introduced a bill allowing a portion of the proceeds of the public lands for the endowment and support of mining schools in the states for the purpose of extending similar aid in the development of the mining industries as had already been provided for agriculture.¹⁹⁷ In 1900, in the debate on a bill which proposed a grant of land in support of the school of forestry in North Dakota, Warren said:

Every donation of land for such a purpose as this is sought to be used for, will enhance in value the government lands which remain two or three or perhaps ten times as much as the value of these donated lands taken from the public domain would be worth. I do not think any other distributions of the land as wisely made as the granting of such comparatively small amounts as these for such purposes.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 16, 1895, p. 164.

¹⁹⁵*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, March 14, 1894. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, May 14, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁹⁷*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 68.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., February 24, 1900, p. 2179.

In 1897 Warren introduced a bill granting to the state of Wyoming fifty thousand acres of land to aid in "the continuation, enlargement, and maintenance of the Wyoming State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home."¹⁹⁹ In 1895 the legislature of Wyoming had donated thirty thousand acres of land as a permanent endowment and in 1896 there were twenty-seven inmates of the institution. The same bill was subsequently brought up in later sessions of Congress. In 1900 Senator Cockrell of Missouri objected to the bill and asked for further information, saying, "When there are millions of acres of such lands that are yet to be disposed of by Congress, is it not right, when we are beginning to make a disposition of them, that we should have the facts stated?"²⁰⁰ Warren replied that the state of Wyoming did not seek to acquire the land for purposes of sale but for the revenue that might be derived from the rental of farming and grazing lands. He further stated that settlers who desired to lease the grazing land adjoining their property were unable to do so under the land laws of the United States.²⁰¹

Warren's attitude on public land questions was liberal. His efforts to secure the liberalization of public land policies was directed towards the interests of the Western stock growers. His attempts to secure relief for those settlers whose entries for desert land had been cancelled under the Sparks' regime, to have the preemption laws reenacted, to allow the leasing of the public domain, and to secure permission for the grazing of sheep in the forest reserves were intended to aid the settler and stockman. His attempts to secure donations of land to the states for aid to educational and charitable institutions was apparently intended to help the states in establishing such institutions. Yet had these lands been granted to the states, quite a sizable portion of the public domain would have been intrusted to the states for the purpose of securing revenues by leasing. As the federal government made no provision for leasing the public lands, the ranchers and farmers would have been materially benefited by this addition to the state's domain. Warren heeded the protest of Wyoming citizens, miners as well as stockgrowers, whose interests were endangered by the national conservation program. This attitude is representative of the difficulty inherent in any program which, intended for the welfare of the country as a whole, hurts a few individuals. Fortunately, the national program had

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., May 17, 1897, p. 1083.

²⁰⁰*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., February 9, 1900, p. 1667.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*

sufficient impetus to proceed in spite of these objections. In regard to the allowance of grazing on the public domain, the federal government yielded and today the grazing of sheep and cattle in the forest reserves is an accepted fact.

CHAPTER VII

FURTHER LEGISLATION DEALING WITH WYOMING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Beginning in the 1840's emigrants in increasing numbers crossed the Wyoming plains on their way to Oregon and California in quest of gold and free land. In the early part of 1850 sixty thousand gold seekers were reported to have traveled over the Oregon trail.²⁰² The emigrants were constantly harassed by the Indian tribes who resented and feared this intrusion upon their domain. For the protection of the emigrants against the Indian attacks the United States government established military forts along the trails. One of the most famous of the early forts was Fort Laramie built in 1849 for the protection of the travelers on the Oregon trail. At this historic spot thousands of weary emigrants stopped to recuperate and purchase supplies before continuing their journey. Here expeditions against the Indians were fitted out and many important treaties were concluded with the tribes. Fort Bridger, about thirty miles east of the present city of Evanston, Wyoming, was made a military post in 1858. In the 1860's, when the tribes on the Plains became more hostile and warlike than before, the cavalry stationed at Fort Bridger were kept busy guarding mails and protecting emigrant trains. Later when gold was discovered in Montana, the Bozeman trail became the route of numerous gold seekers to the north. This trail penetrated the Sioux country in northern Wyoming and was the site of numerous bloody encounters with the Sioux warriors. When Fort Phil Kearny was built along the Bozeman trail, it became the site of repeated attacks from the Sioux warriors led by their chief, Red Cloud. In December 1866, Captain Fetterman and his whole command were killed when they pursued an attacking party of Sioux who had molested a wood train bringing wood to the fort. When Colonel Carrington, commanding officer of the fort, being desperately in need of reinforcements from Fort Laramie, called for volunteers, a fron-

²⁰²I. S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), I, p. 311.

tiersman known as "Portugee" Phillips offered his services.²⁰³ In spite of a raging blizzard, Phillips succeeded in reaching Fort Laramie and secured help for the besieged troops at Fort Kearny. Fort Fetterman was established in 1867 south of Fort Kearny and was named in honor of Captain Fetterman who had lost his life at the hands of Red Cloud's warriors.

When the Indians threatened to menace the construction of the Union Pacific, the workers were protected with the aid of the United States troops stationed at various places along the route. In 1867 the Army decided to make Fort D. A. Russell, just northwest of the present site of Cheyenne, a permanent post. Here troops were stationed for the protection of the railroad workers when the construction gangs had reached Cheyenne in 1868. Farther west, troops were stationed at Fort Sanders, near Laramie, at Fort Fred E. Steele on the Platte river in what is now Carbon County, and at Fort Bridger in the southwestern part of the state.

The army posts performed a distinct economic function for the thinly populated regions of the West by furnishing an additional market for the products of the earliest settlers. Supplying beef for the large number of men stationed at these posts and providing hay for the cavalry horses meant a good source of income for the cattle ranchers in the vicinity. In 1871 the army post at Fort Russell was paying a price of eight dollars and thirty-five cents a hundred-weight for beef.²⁰⁴ In later years these army posts still continued to be a source of income for the businesses established in their immediate vicinities.

When the tribes had been subdued, the abandonment of these military forts meant a dislocation of the economic interests dependent upon them for a part of their income. Accordingly the agitation for the continuance of the forts became strong and Warren, recognizing these demands, tried to secure legislation which would favor them.

Warren was indefatigable in his efforts to secure appropriations from Congress for the maintenance and enlargement of military reservations in Wyoming. In 1891 he tried to get an appropriation of \$50,000 for building barracks and stables and making repairs at Fort McKinney

²⁰³In March 1900, Warren secured a pension of five thousand dollars for Hattie Phillips, the widow of the valiant frontiersman. *Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1484. Also he tried to secure an appropriation for the erection of a monument to mark the site of the massacre. The monument was finally erected and was unveiled on July 4, 1908. Representative Mondell is given the credit for finally securing the appropriation. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, I, p. 283.

²⁰⁴Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

in Johnson County in the northern part of the state.²⁰⁵ As late as 1901, when it was apparent that there was no further necessity for the maintenance of the fort as a protection against Indian attacks, Warren tried to secure more troops to garrison Fort McKinney.²⁰⁶ Warren secured the appropriation of \$100,000 for the establishment of the military fort and reservation of Fort MacKenzie near Sheridan in northern Wyoming. The bill, approved by President McKinley on April 7, 1900, provided that the post should not contain less than one thousand, two hundred and eighty acres. The next Congress appropriated \$35,000 for continuing the work of constructing buildings for quarters, barracks, and stables at Fort MacKenzie.²⁰⁷

Frackleton, in the *Sagebrush Dentist*, relates an interesting incident that occurred in Sheridan, Wyoming, in relation to a visit of President Taft in 1911, that illustrates the strong opposition of business interests at the abandonment of military forts. Senators Warren and Clark and Representative Mondell, despondent at the order of the military department abandoning Fort MacKenzie, arranged a brilliant reception for President Taft, hoping that they might influence the President to revoke the order. The Senators and Mondell, not wishing to further invite the attacks of the Eastern magazines about the "pork barrel," arranged that Frackleton, the town dentist, should meet the visiting President. When he arrived, Taft was escorted through the town, which was decorated with colored bunting, and along the streets thronged with people. Finally he was driven out to Fort MacKenzie, where, by design, he was detained long enough to make a survey of the fort. At the end of the visit, Taft was presented with a buck deer, grouse, ducks, and other game of which he was very fond. In delight at the present he promised Frackleton to give him anything he desired and Frackleton replied that he would like to have the order rescinded regarding the abandonment of Fort MacKenzie.²⁰⁸ Accordingly Taft sent a telegram rescinding the order. At Fort MacKenzie today is a fine veteran's hospital which Frackleton says is "a monument to an observation car full of game and a promise by a president of the United States that has been faith-

²⁰⁵*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, February 15, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. Fort McKinney was established on the Powder River in 1876. It was from Fort McKinney that troops were summoned to quell the Johnson County war in 1892.

²⁰⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, February 5, 1901. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁰⁷*United States Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1168.

²⁰⁸Will Frackleton, *Sagebrush Dentist* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1941), pp. 232-7.

fully kept."²⁰⁹ Whether or not Taft was actually influenced by this ingenious scheme may be a matter of doubt, but this incident does show the general attitude common in Wyoming in regard to the abandonment of military forts.

Fort D. A. Russell has often been called "a monument to pork barrel legislation." The government has spent over \$7,000,000 to make Fort Russell one of the largest and best equipped military forts and reservations in the country. Warren was particularly assiduous in getting appropriations for the construction of buildings and the maintenance of Fort Russell. It was largely through his efforts that the fort has been maintained and enlarged. Warren in 1892 introduced a bill authorizing the location of a branch home for disabled volunteer soldiers on the reservation. This bill carried an appropriation of \$12,000.²¹⁰ In July 1892, he introduced a bill providing for the construction of an administration building for army purposes at Fort Russell.²¹¹ In 1896 Warren introduced an amendment providing an appropriation for the extension of the barracks,²¹² and two years later he secured an appropriation of \$30,000 for that purpose.²¹³ In 1900 he tried to get an appropriation of \$70,000 for continuing the work of constructing quarters at Fort Russell,²¹⁴ and the next year Congress appropriated \$35,000 for rebuilding quarters and officers' residences at the fort.²¹⁵ He also secured the establishment of the Pole Mountain military maneuver reserve which is auxiliary to the fort. This reserve covers an area of nearly one hundred square miles.²¹⁶ After Warren's death in 1929, by order

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 232.

²¹⁰*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., January 21, 1892, p. 467.

²¹¹*Ibid.*, July 27, 1892, p. 6831.

²¹²*Ibid.*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., April 9, 1896, p. 3741.

²¹³*United States Statutes at Large*, XXX, p. 629. Warren bought three of the frame houses at Fort Warren which were to be replaced under the provisions of the act. These houses were moved to Cheyenne and fitted up. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, July 31, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²¹⁴*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., April 6, 1900, p. 3829.

²¹⁵*Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1168.

²¹⁶An article in one of the "muckraking" magazines said in regard to the Pole Mountain maneuver reserve, "It was originally a forest reserve. Warren applied to the Forestry Department to be allowed to graze his sheep on this forest reserve. There were several thousand settlers on this reserve who had leased from the Government grazing privileges for their cattle, and cattle will not graze where sheep have grazed. The Forestry Department refused Warren the requested privilege. Whereupon Warren, through his influence as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, had the Pole Mountain reserve turned over to the Military Department as a target and maneuver ground. When the change occurred the Government immediately notified the settlers on the reserve that their leases were canceled, that the Government would refund them the money they had paid, and that no more leases of the reserve would be given." C. P. Connolly, "Senator Warren of Wyoming." *Collier's Weekly*, 49:10-1, August 31, 1912.

of the President of the United States, the name of Fort D. A. Russell was changed to Fort Francis E. Warren in honor of the Senator.

Although by 1890 the Indians had been subdued and placed on reservations, white settlers were occasionally subjected to annoyance and intimidation by Indian marauders. In 1891 Warren presented a resolution passed by the Legislature of Wyoming asking for the enactment of a law to disarm the Indians and prevent them from leaving their reservations without a guard.²¹⁷ In that year settlers in Star Valley in western Wyoming requested Warren to place before the Interior Department their complaint that the Indians from the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho were destroying game and intimidating people in that section.²¹⁸ In the summer of 1895 the settlers in the Jackson Hole area were troubled by the Bannock Indians, and in January of the next year Warren introduced a bill providing for the construction of a military road from Fort Washakie,²¹⁹ on the Wind River reservation in Western Wyoming, north-westward to the mouth of the Buffalo fork of the Snake river near Jackson's Lake. This was intended to make it easier for troops stationed at Fort Washakie to move quickly to the scene of any Indian disturbance in that vicinity. In 1898 Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the purpose,²²⁰ and in 1900, in accordance with a bill submitted by Warren, an additional appropriation of \$10,000 was made for repair and completion of the road.²²¹

One of the interesting natural phenomena on the Wind River reservation was the Big Horn Hot Springs. Settlers in the vicinity of the reservation were desirous of securing the cession of these springs to the state. Newspapers described the wonderful cures affected by bathing in the springs and predicted that these springs would soon rival the famous hot springs of Arkansas. Pioneers, anticipating the future development of the springs as a health resort,

²¹⁷*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., February 16, 1891, p. 2718. By treaty with the Shoshone and Bannock Indians the Wind River reservation, including all of Wyoming west of the North Platte river and south of the Wind River mountains, was ceded to the tribes on July 3, 1868.

²¹⁸*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, July 14, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²¹⁹*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., January 29, 1896, p. 1069. Fort Washakie was established on the Wind River reservation in 1869, and in 1893 Congress made an appropriation for permanent improvements at the fort. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, I, p. 322.

²²⁰*Statutes*, XXX, p. 50.

²²¹*Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 632. In 1898 Warren secured an appropriation for investigation to be made of the improvements which had to be abandoned by white settlers when the Wind River reservation was created. *Statutes*, XXX, p. 591. In 1900 he tried to get an appropriation of \$12,311 to pay these claims.

laid out two town sites at the corner of the Shoshone reservation. It was predicted that soon these towns would become thriving and prosperous places. In December 1895, Warren presented the petition of the Legislature of Wyoming praying for the cession of the portion of the Wind River reservation containing the hot springs to the state of Wyoming.²²² Two years later on June 7, 1897, the act was passed granting to the state of Wyoming a tract one mile square including the hot springs.²²³ By treaty the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians agreed to relinquish a tract, ten miles square in return for \$60,000. The remainder of the land not ceded to the state of Wyoming was left open for homestead and town site entries. In 1899 there was a movement to secure the relinquishment of more lands in the reservation. The Legislature of Wyoming passed a memorial to Congress and Warren submitted an amendment to that effect.²²⁴

In 1899 an order was given by the War Department for the removal of troops from Fort Washakie. Warren protested to the War Department saying that to abandon the fort would mean a serious menace to peace and good order as the two tribes, the Shoshones and Arapahoes, and their agency "now in close proximity would be very remote and far beyond railway communication."²²⁵ Soon after Warren's protest Secretary Alger countermanded his previous order and retained the garrison,²²⁶ with the result that troops were stationed at Fort Washakie until 1909.

In 1892 Warren introduced a bill which provided for changing the boundaries of the Yellowstone National Park. The bill proposed to limit the area of the Park to the state of Wyoming and to open to settlement a portion of the timber reserve which had been set aside by executive order. It is difficult to determine what Warren hoped to accomplish by the bill. In the course of the debate Senator Vest of Missouri stated:

A persistent and unscrupulous lobby are able to do almost what they please with the public domain. The portion of the park cut off upon the north is being cut off simply because the friends

²²²*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 9, 1895, p. 58.

²²³*Statutes*, XXX, p. 93-6.

²²⁴*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 28, 1899, p. 2553. In the same year the stockmen of Wyoming secured the right to lease for grazing purposes surplus lands on the reservation. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, February 11, 1899.

²²⁵*Lander Clipper*, May 26, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²²⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, May 31, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

of the park are unable to resist the aggressive action of a lobby in the city of Washington that for years have been endeavoring to force a railroad into the park under a charter from Congress in order to sell it for a large sum to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company.²²⁷

Warren himself maintained that the purpose of the bill was not in the interest of any railroad company, but that his object was to benefit those who had mining and ranching interests in the vicinity of the park.²²⁸ The bill opened up to settlement part of the timber reservation which had been set aside adjacent to the park. Within the reservation were small settlements of miners and ranchers who claimed that their rights were taken from them by this timber reserve. It seems probable that Warren was attempting to protect these settlers. Further evidence that he was interested in keeping the mines in the park open to the public is found in a bill which he introduced in 1897 proposing to open the Yellowstone Park Timber Reserve for the location of mining claims.²²⁹ Also in 1898 an article in the *Big Horn County Rustler* stated that Senator Warren desired all who had mining interests in the Sunlight and Stinking Water mining interests to write him protesting against including these districts in the Yellowstone Park.²³⁰ The Stinking Water interests were located near the eastern boundary of the park and the Sunlight interests were in the extreme northwestern corner of Big Horn county near the park. A pamphlet issued by the Wyoming Secretary of State in 1898 said, "All these mines would become valuable properties were there adequate railway facilities to develop them and carry off their products."²³¹

In his work in relation to military forts and Indian reservations in Wyoming and the Yellowstone National Park, Warren was undoubtedly trying to protect and support certain economic interests in Wyoming. He realized that the business conducted with the military forts was of considerable importance to small communities near which they were situated and he worked incessantly to maintain that relationship. He was influential in securing to the state of Wyoming the cession of the Big Horn Hot Springs

²²⁷*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., May 10, 1892, p. 4120.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., May 10, 1892, p. 4121.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

²³⁰*Big Horn County Rustler*, April 2, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³¹*State of Wyoming*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

which have since become of considerable economic value to that vicinity. Also he endeavored to protect the mining interests in the vicinity of Yellowstone Park which were threatened by the government's policy of conservation.

The popularity of a delegate to Congress is to a large extent dependent upon the benefits which he is able to obtain for his constituents. Warren's popularity in Wyoming was due, at least partly, to his success in securing appropriations and other legislation which directly contributed to the prosperity of the people of the state. Warren was unusually successful in securing legislation favorable to the interests of Wyoming. Eastern newspapers derided the size of the "pork" which Wyoming's delegates obtained in proportion to the small population which they represented while Wyoming editors boasted of the splendid achievements of their delegation in the state's behalf.²³²

CHAPTER VIII

MILITARY AFFAIRS

Although his chief interest lay in western problems, Senator Warren devoted much time and effort to military affairs. It was natural that Warren, who had won the Medal of Honor for gallant service in the Civil War, and whose ancestor had distinguished himself in the War for Independence, should have interested himself in military matters. For many years he worked on the Senate's Committee of Military Affairs. He was in sympathy with the "large policy" men like Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, senator from Massachusetts, who advocated the enlargement of the army and navy and an expansionist policy. Although Warren was not primarily interested in foreign affairs, he reflected an interventionist and imperialistic policy in various foreign difficulties which arose from 1892 to 1900. In 1892 when American sailors on shore leave in Valparaiso were attacked, some fatally, by Chileans, Warren in an interview thus expressed his opinion: "Reparation should be made or else war should be declared."²³³ In 1895 began the Cuban insurrection, and tales published by the Yellow Press of the sufferings of the insurgents

²³²Closely related to the subject of military forts is the public buildings bill. While Warren was Senator between 1890 and 1902 Wyoming secured appropriations for public buildings at Cheyenne, Laramie, and Evanston. In the same period Warren introduced a total number of eighty-four pension bills but secured passage of only six.

²³³*Chicago Herald*, January 26, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

under the regime of "Butcher Weyler" aroused in the people of the United States a feeling of sympathy for the Cubans and indignation against the Spanish imperial policy. People in Wyoming responded to the popular sympathy for the Cuban cause, and as early as 1897 the Wyoming legislature passed a joint resolution which Warren presented to Congress asking for the recognition of the Republic of Cuba.²³⁴ When the United States battleship *Maine*, lying in Havana harbor was destroyed by an explosion, Warren recommended intervention and "the ultimate and absolute independence of Cuba, and full satisfaction for the *Maine*."²³⁵ When the war was won and Spain driven from her island possessions and the United States was faced with the problem of what to do with Spain's former dependencies, Warren advised cession to the United States to "secure the best possible results in the way of commercial advantages."²³⁶ He defended this imperialistic policy on the grounds that it was a "practical policy" and the only way "to derive benefits commensurate with our outlay in the conduct of the war."²³⁷

When President McKinley called for volunteers on April 23, 1898, two days after the declaration of war on Spain, Wyoming responded wholeheartedly. The First Infantry Battalion from Wyoming, organized in May 1898, and Battery A from Cheyenne, organized in June 1898, totaled 462 men, including seventeen commissioned officers.²³⁸ The battalions were transported to Manila where in August they took part in the battle of Manila.

Warren introduced the bill in Congress which authorized the recruiting of three regiments of cavalry. Colonel Jay L. Torrey, of Ember, Wyoming, had previously acquainted President McKinley and Secretary of War Alger with the idea. Senator Warren and other Congressmen became interested and encouraged the plan. General Miles, chief commander, officially endorsed the bill introduced by Warren:

The services of men whose lives are spent in the saddle as herdsmen, pioneers, scouts, prospectors, etc., would be exceedingly valuable to the government in time of hostilities. They are accustomed to a life in the saddle, most excellent horsemen, fearless, intelligent, enterprising, accustomed

²³⁴*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 2 Sess., February 17, 1897, p. 1914.

²³⁵*Cheyenne Sun-Leader*, April 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³⁶*Baltimore Sun*, July 19, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³⁷*Ibid.*

²³⁸"Wyoming Volunteers." (Pamphlet in the Warren Scrapbook.)

to taking care of themselves in bivouac, skillful in landcraft, and as a rule excellent riflemen. Such a force would be a valuable auxiliary to an army.²³⁹

The bill was passed as an amendment to the volunteer army bill of April 22, 1898. The best known of the "rough rider" regiments was that made famous by Theodore Roosevelt, who was second in command of this battalion, which took part in the capture of San Juan Hill, near Santiago, Cuba. Another regiment was commanded by Colonel Melvin Grigsby. The third regiment was recruited in Wyoming by Colonel Torrey himself. In an official communication from Secretary of War Alger, dated April 28,²⁴⁰ Torrey was authorized to organize a regiment of volunteers "possessing special qualifications as horsemen and marksmen." The regiment was officially known as the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry and consisted of twenty-five commissioned officers and 567 enlisted men. This "cowboy regiment" captured the popular fancy of Wyoming people and the progress of the recruiting and training at Fort D. A. Russell was watched with enthusiasm. The cavalry regiment was entrained to Jacksonville, Florida, where it was still waiting for embarkation for Cuba when Spain capitulated.

Other bills which Warren introduced give an idea of the kind of legislation he was trying to procure for the benefit of the volunteers participating in the war. In 1899 he tried to get a bill passed which provided that when an officer or enlisted man had died on duty after January 1, 1898, and his remains had been transported and buried at the expense of family or friends, the money so expended should be refunded by the United States government.²⁴¹ Warren secured the consent of the United States government to remove the bodies of five members of Torrey's cavalry who had died while in service, so that they might be buried in the cemetery at Fort Russell where the regiment mobilized.²⁴² In 1900 he introduced a bill to provide for the medical care and surgical treatment of honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines.²⁴³ Warren and Colonel Torrey worked together to get travel pay for those soldiers in the volunteer army who were on sick furlough when mustered

²³⁹Walter B. Stevens, "The Story of the Rough Riders," *Leslie's Weekly*. (In Warren Scrapbook)

²⁴⁰Copy of the order is to be found in the Warren Scrapbook entitled "Wyoming Volunteers."

²⁴¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., March 2, 1899, p. 2696.

²⁴²*Leslie's Weekly*, *op. cit.*

²⁴³*Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., December 4, 1901, p. 125.

out.²⁴⁴ Warren introduced a bill to "authorize the payment of traveling allowance to enlisted men of the regular and volunteer forces when discharged by order of the Secretary of War and stated by him as entitled to travel pay."²⁴⁵

Warren believed that the army should be considerably enlarged and made more efficient. As early as 1892 he introduced a bill to that effect.²⁴⁶ In 1897, Warren, then a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in an interview printed in the *Army and Navy Journal* said that he believed that at least five thousand men should be added to the enlisted forces and that the personnel of the army should be reorganized for greater efficiency.²⁴⁷ The war with Spain, short as it was, revealed the incompetency and inefficiency of the War Department and the Army. A letter written by Theodore Roosevelt, then enlisted in the Volunteer Cavalry, written to his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, illustrates the conditions of inefficiency which prevailed during the war. Roosevelt wrote from Port Tampa, Florida, where he was waiting with other members of his regiment to depart to Cuba, "No words could describe to you the confusion and lack of system and the general mismanagement of affairs here."²⁴⁸ When Roosevelt became president at the death of McKinley, he appointed Elihu Root to replace Alger as Secretary of War. In his annual report of 1899 Root stressed the lack of system and planning of the army set-up. Jessup says in his biography of Root, "The army seemed to him very much like a corporation run without a general manager or board of directors, by the superintendents of the various departments of the business."²⁴⁹ Root formulated the Army Reorganization Bill which contained his ideas on army reform. Senator Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, a friend of Root's and chairman of the Senate's Committee on Military Affairs, introduced the bill. Warren, although he was not the chairman of the committee, apparently played an important part in getting the bill through. Among other newspaper items crediting Warren with having charge of the bill, this item appeared in the *New York World*:

²⁴⁴*Leslie's Weekly*, op. cit.

²⁴⁵*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., March 15, 1900, p. 2917.

²⁴⁶*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., February 1, 1892, p. 708.

²⁴⁷*Army and Navy Journal*, November 13, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁴⁸*Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 303.

²⁴⁹Philip G. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company) I, p. 354.

Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, shrewd, sagacious, silken, sleek, oily, is in a quandary. He would like to know how to pass the administration army bill. Hawley, of Connecticut, is chairman of the committee, but he is getting along in years and is not so active as formerly, and the real work of engineering the bill and executing flank movements devolves upon Warren.²⁵⁰

Two factions developed in the Senate during the debate on the bill. The administration forces included Senators Spooner, Elkins, Lodge, Hawley, and Warren. The anti-expansionists were opposed to the bill and supported instead the Cockrell bill, offered by Senator Cockrell of Missouri. In a speech supporting the Hawley Bill²⁵¹ Warren expressed his belief in the necessity of increasing the percentage of commissioned officers to enlisted men, claiming that the Hull-Hawley bill provided, with the army at the maximum strength of 100,000, for 27.8 men for each officer while the Cockrell bill provided for one officer for each thirty-one men. At its minimum strength of 60,000 the army under the Hawley bill would have a much lower percentage of men to officers. He also stressed the desirability of increasing the personnel of the staff because during the war the staff had been too shorthanded to handle its work efficiently. He claimed that the native armies proposed by the Cockrell bill to police the new acquisitions of the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico would not be dependable.²⁵² Another objection that Warren made was that the president, and not Congress, was authorized to appoint for the outside forces all the commissioned officers as he saw fit. Warren was unwilling to give the president this power. He concluded with an appeal for the expansion of the armed forces of the United States.

On February 27, Senator Gorman of Maryland introduced an amendment to limit the standing army of the United States to 29,000 troops after July 1, 1901. Warren

²⁵⁰*New York World*, February 13, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁵¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 21, 1899, pp. 2138-2142.

²⁵²The Cockrell bill authorized the president, at his discretion, to organize a military force in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Pacific Islands to be composed of the inhabitants of such islands under such qualifications and limitations as he might prescribe. Such forces were to be officered as the President might direct and were to be under the control and subject to the orders of the president and the officers assigned to duty by him. The number of such forces was not to exceed 35,000 men. The bill provided for reducing the permanent army to a peace footing at the discretion of the president. *Ibid.*, p. 2142.

objected to this amendment declaring that 29,000 men were too few for adequate protection of both coast and interior. He alluded to the Indian Wars and tried to impress the senators with the possibility of future Indian outbreaks and the need for troops stationed in the interior for the protection of western settlers. The bill as finally passed increased the size of the standing army from the 31,000 to which number the army would have been reduced after demobilization, to a minimum of 60,000 and a maximum of 100,000 troops.²⁵³

Another policy advocated by Root was the continuance and enlargement of the United States Military Academy at West Point for the training of future United States army officers. Warren was in charge of the military academy appropriation bill of 1902. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs had increased the appropriation to \$6,500,000 for the construction and improvement of buildings at West Point. This appropriation had been many times the amount of any previous appropriation. Warren called up the bill in the Senate on June 5. An argument between Warren and Senator Bate of Tennessee concerned the spending of what the latter called an "extravagant sum."²⁵⁴ Warren explained that \$2,000,000 of the sum was to be spent in the construction of new buildings and supplying the older buildings with modern accommodations as well as providing new hospital quarters. Sarcastically Senator Bate wanted to know what had become of the appropriation of the previous year of \$258,000 for the same purpose. In spite of the opposition of Bate and other Senators, the bill passed the Senate in the form recommended by the committee.

Warren's chief interest as a United States Senator was to secure legislation which would directly benefit the West. The previous chapters have dealt exclusively with issues which were particularly pertinent to the western section of the country, or were local manifestations of national problems. Warren was not interested in protecting the wool producers in Ohio, and likewise he was not concerned with the fact that consumers in eastern cities might be subjected to wearing clothing made from "filthy" shoddy. His concern was that the importation of shoddy would force down the prices of Wyoming wool. His interest in conservation was not primarily the maintenance and preserva-

²⁵³Jessup, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Root had secured the statements of a great number of military men urging a larger force. Warren in 1901 expressed his belief that the standing army of the United States should number 100,000 men. See *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 3 Sess., January 15, 1901, p. 1026 ff.

²⁵⁴*Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., June 5, 1902, p. 6309 ff.

tion of the forests, but the benefits which might be derived for the livestock interests by allowing grazing within the forest reserves. In this chapter has been discussed Warren's interest in issues which were not local in scope. He believed in the maintenance of a large standing army and undoubtedly he exerted influence in that direction. Twice he had been instrumental in quelling disorder in Wyoming by the use of federal troops. In 1885 he had requested federal troops to quell the Chinese Riot in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and in 1892 he was believed to have used his influence as United States Senator to aid the stockmen in the Johnson County War. In a sense there is a sectional aspect involved in the disposition of a standing army. Warren wanted to secure the stationing of a large part of the army in the interior, while people in the East felt that the army should be stationed along the coast. Probably Warren's attitude toward imperialism was largely political. Since Warren was a staunch Republican, he readily fell in line with the policies enunciated by that party. In the late nineties the Republicans launched upon an imperialistic and aggressive foreign policy and Warren probably supported it because of his party connection.

An auto club was organized in Laramie in August 1903 to further the interests of the eighteen automobile owners in that vicinity. Elmer Lovejoy, president of the club, stated to a local reporter that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the car owners owing to the fact that those driving teams about the city streets did not observe the rules of keeping to the right of the road and hence there was danger of a collision between an auto and a team. He further stated that the small boys about the town were a great annoyance as they persisted "in playing in the streets and made a regular business of waiting until an auto is almost upon them before getting out of the way."

The thousands of circles on the western prairies which appeared every spring were called by travelers "fairy rings." They were formed during the buffalo calving period. The buffalo bulls, in order to keep off the gray wolves that singly or in great packs hunted over the prairies, formed regular beats to guard the cows. In walking these beats the bulls made circular paths in the new grass.

Indian Legends from the Indian Guide,

Published at Shoshone Agency

The Waters of the Weeping Buffalo

Let us look at this fine mountain lake through summer eyes. It is situated high up in the mountains, twenty-five or thirty miles north of the school; set in a background of lofty green canyon walls dotted everywhere with trees, shrubbery and flowers.

The approach is either by trail across the foothills or by a very good wagon road partly along the course of Big Wind River. The road leads directly to where the lake outlet, Bull Creek, empties into the river. Here we have a most desirable camping ground, there being plenty of shade and more plentiful fishing.

Just a little west of this point looms up Crow Heart Butte, so named from a desperate conflict between the Crows and a hostile tribe of Indians. The Crows were overcome and driven to the top of the Butte, where a Crow's heart was mercilessly cut out, hence the record of this towering memorial. Turn now to the south, follow the creek for two or three miles and the lake, or lakes rather, there being a chain of them, come to view, the lower one of which is covered with pond lilies, yellow, white and fragrant.

Follow on around the lakes, the scenery is grand and peaceful. The source is to be found at the head lake. It is a stream fed from winter snows melted by summer suns and at times swollen by summer rains.

One of the attractions of this place is in the legend attached to it by the Indians. At certain seasons of the year there is a strange moaning sound, caused by some subterranean action, of what we do not know. The Indians say it is the cry of the Weeping Buffalo, and for reasons of their own, regard it with much superstition and dread. They will abandon their camp at once on hearing the sound and fly as from an evil spirit, which indeed it is to them. We too must leave this fine scene, but it is with regret and many desires to return again on some future occasion to the Waters of the Weeping Buffalo.

Crow Tradition

Several years ago while in the Crow country, an old Indian nearly ninety years of age, related the following tradition to us, and we give it to our readers just as it was given to us. It runs as follows:

Many, many years ago Sakawarte (the Crow name for Great Spirit) came down to earth near the Stillwater. He looked around and saw two pillars of rock. He then passed his hands over one of the pillars and blew his breath on it, and it became a man. He then did the same to the other pillar and it became a woman. He then said to the man and woman that he would give them one of four things—grass, buffalo, water, or ponies. He did that to test them. He told them that he would go away for awhile, and that they should go down into a "cooley" and think it over and make a wise choice.

After several days he came to them and asked them if they had thought over what he had said to them and if they had chosen what they wanted.

They said that they had.

He then asked them what was their choice and they said that they had chosen the buffalo, and they had reasoned this way—if we choose the buffalo, Sakawarte will have to give us grass for the buffalo to eat; water for the buffalo to drink and ponies with which to hunt the buffalo. Sakawarte when he heard their choice said that it was good and that they were wise Indians.

He then told them that they should take a piece of an ash tree and make a bow of it and arrows with which to hunt the buffalo. He told them to take the entrails and make the bow-strings; that they should take the feathers of the eagle and put them on the arrows with the sinue of the buffalo; and that they should get sharp stones and put them on the end of the arrows and that they should cut a groove in their arrows so as to let the blood ooze out and then the buffalo would die quickly.

He told them to do this and that he would return to them.

So after a little while he left them and in the course of a day or two he came again to them and brought with him six boys and six girls. These he sent out in pairs, and from them sprang all the other people. He then asked them if they had done what he had told them to do, and they said they had.

Then when he saw what they had done, he told them that it was good, and that they should be good Indians and ever after to hunt the buffalo.

Sakawarte then disappeared and has never since been seen by man.

Another Crow Tradition

Once upon a time a party of Crow Indians were out hunting the buffalo and they had with them a blind man, who being a great hindrance to them in their hunting, they put up a tepee for him on the bank of the Stillwater and told him to remain there until they returned.

They left him something to eat and built a fire for him. Then they drove a stake in the ground and stretched a lariat to the Stillwater, so he could get water and also stretched another lariat to the timber and told him to follow that and he could get wood. Thus they left him and shortly after another party of Crows coming along, and they also having with them a blind man, concluded to follow the example of the other party and leave him to keep the first company. The two men sat down and spent their time relating their "coos" to each other. The hunting parties were detained and the two blind men ran out of food and became very hungry. They sat at their fire and talked and wondered what they would do for something to eat. Finally they could stand it no longer and one of them suggested that they go down to the Stillwater and try to catch a fish and eat it. "No," said the other one, "Sakawarte (the Great Spirit), told our people to hunt the Buffalo and it would make him very angry for us to catch and eat fish." But finally hunger getting the better of him he consented.

They then went to the water and it was not very long before they caught a large fish. They came back to their tepee and made a fire and proceeded to cook it.

They were sitting on either side of the fire talking and when the fish was nearly done Sakawarte came quietly to them and reaching over took the fish out of the pot over the fire.

Soon they discovered that the fish was gone and then they began to accuse each other of having taken it. From words they went to blows and while they were fighting, Sakawarte was standing there and laughing at them.

At last he spoke to them and told them to stop fighting and that he, Sakawarte, had taken the fish to try them.

He then told them that they were bad Indians and that they had broken his command to their people, which was to hunt the buffalo. But he said that he would try them. That they should go down to the Stillwater and take some mud and rub it on their eyes and then to wash

it off and that they would then see. Then he told them that they should obey him and go and hunt the buffalo.

Then he left them.

They did as he had told them to do and in a short time they could see.

They then sat down and talked over matters, their hunger increased, and the hunting parties not returning, they at last were compelled to go down to the Stillwater and catch a fish. They had no sooner landed a fish, than they both lost their sight again.

In remorse they sat down by their fire and again Sakawarte came to them and told them what bad Indians they had been, but he said he would try them a second time. So he told them to go again to the Stillwater and to take mud and put on their eyes and wash them, then when they received their sight they should never again fish or else they would lose their sight and never again recover it. Instead he told them that they should always hunt the buffalo.

So they did as he told them and they immediately received their sight a second time.

Then they went and made themselves bows and arrows as Sakawarte had told them to do and while they were thus at work their friends returned from the hunt and gave them food.

The hunters were very much surprised to find that the blind men had received their sight and when they were told how it was, they said that they would always be good Indians and ever after hunt buffalo.

When the old Indian, who related the traditions to us was told that he had said that Sakawarte had never been seen by man after he had first created the Crows, he replied, "Blind men cannot see."

Lone Bear's Story

Few of the Indians of this reservation are better known or more highly esteemed than our friend Lone Bear, the second Chief of the Arapahoes. He is now about fifty years of age, of fine physical powers, and a noble commanding face, with an expression full of kindness and intelligence. Years ago when he was an Indian of the Indians, few could equal and none excel him in all of the arts and practices, which the Indians used to most esteem. He was a mighty nimrod in his day and there are those of his tribe now living, who have seen him kill two buffaloes with one arrow; and he was also one who could perform the seemingly impossible feat of driving his arrow completely through

a buffalo so that it fell out on the other side. Now however he has abandoned all thoughts of such pastimes and devotes himself earnestly and successfully to learning the arts and practices of the white men; and is one of our most successful farmers.

The following story we heard him tell to a party of white men and Indians seated around a camp fire near the place on the banks of the Big Horn River, which the Arapahoes call "ah-cah-can-ah-mes thai," or "where we left our lodge poles." Here it was that they abandoned their lodge poles when they left the reservation in 1874 and went on the war path for the last time.

His story was heard very attentively by his audience and all of the Indians seemed to be familiar with it. It may be that it has some foundation in fact. Here it is just as he told it, and Tom Crispin interpreted it.

Long ago there were some Indians of the Comanche tribe, who live a long way south from here and they speak the same language as the Shoshones. Some think they are the same people but they live far apart.

Some of these Indians were out hunting once and there was a young squaw along with them. They were running buffaloes and at night the squaw was missing. She had fallen off her horse or been thrown or had lost her way—at any rate she could not be found. The next day all the party looked for her but they could not find her. Many days after they looked but they could not find her, so they went back to their lodges without her and everybody thought she was dead.

Two snows after, while hunting wild horses, they saw a herd and rode as near to them as they could. The horses ran away and the Indians chased them.

They saw in the herd a strange animal which they had never seen before, but they could not get near enough to tell what it was. They went home and told what they had seen, and the tribe held a council and said we will send forty of our young men on our best horses to catch or kill this animal. Two days after the young men rode out of the village.

They rode to the place where the wild horses had been and spent three days looking for them. At noon on the third day they saw the herd grazing a long way off. They did not disturb them that day, but next at the first light, the young men started out to chase them. When they were about half a mile from them the herd started to run and the Indians put their ponies to the top of their speed.

Leading the herd was the strange animal and they saw that it looked like a man.

No horse was so fast as it was, and the Indians soon saw that they could not catch it on their horses.

They stopped chasing it then and held a council. They said, "We will surround the herd tomorrow and maybe we can catch the animal that way." In the afternoon they saw the herd a long way off, and placed six of the best riders along a ravine through which it would have to go. Then the riders began to drive the herd toward the ravine and it passed near to one of the young men, who was there. The animal was leading the herd and running very fast—faster than any horse could run. The young man rode towards it as fast as his horse could go, and as the animal ran past him he saw that it was a man or a woman. He had his lasso ready and threw it around the man's breast, but before he could tighten it, the man caught it in his hands and pushed it off over his head.

Several other of the young men rode across the ravine in front and they surrounded the animal, and it stood still. Its eyebrows were so long that it pushed them up with its hands and looked up at the young men and they saw that it was a woman. Her hair hung down to her feet. They tied her with ropes and took her with them. When they came to the village one of the squaws said, "That is the woman who was lost two snows ago."

They said, "How do you know her?"

She said, "Look on her leg and you will see a scar. She was dressing a buffalo robe one day and the scraper slipped and cut her." They looked and saw it was the woman. They kept her for three days but she would not eat; neither would she wear clothes. The third day her brother came into the tent and saw that she had torn her clothes off and he killed her.

Early emigrants suffered from grasshoppers, as have the later farmers. A military order in January of 1875 commanded Lieutenant O'Brien of the 4th Infantry and Lieutenant Norris of the 9th Infantry at Fort Laramie, and Lieutenants True and Brown of the 4th Infantry at Fort Fetterman to report to Omaha to help in the distribution of supplies to the grasshopper sufferers.

All members of the Johnson County delegation to the state legislature were chloroformed and robbed by burglars on the night of December 4, 1890, while they were sleeping in a Cheyenne home. The next night, members of the Fremont County delegation, sleeping in another Cheyenne residence, had a similar experience.

Thomas Jefferson Carr, A Frontier Sheriff

Compiled from C. G. Coutant's notes made in 1884-1885

Thomas Jefferson Carr, was born near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 18, 1842. About 1857 his father, Josiah Carr, who for many years had been a pilot on the Ohio and Mississippi river boats, moved to Jackson, Ohio, the county seat of Jackson County, and engaged in the general merchandise business. Young Jeff acted as a part time clerk and attended school until, at the age of 19, he began teaching in the district schools of Jackson and Pike counties, Ohio. With the beginning of the Civil War he was engaged as a clerk in the Quartermaster's Department of the Ohio Troops, serving under General J. D. Cox at Kenawha Falls, Charleston and Ganely Bridge.

Being discharged from the army after a severe attack of pneumonia Carr returned to Pittsburgh and received a diploma as bookkeeper and accountant from the Iron City College. For a time he served as an accountant in the "Board of Trade Rooms" for George H. Thurston but soon the Pike's Peak gold fever attacked him and in 1864 he arrived in Denver. Here he became interested in the Metropolitan Mining and Exploring Company, a group of approximately twenty men, who with Jack Jones, an old mountaineer as guide, prospected the headwaters of the Big and Little Laramie Rivers, west of the present site of Laramie City. The company found numerous traces of precious minerals but not in paying quantities and, being constantly harassed by Indians, returned to Denver and abandoned operations.

From 1864 to 1867 Jeff Carr staked a large number of claims in the Central City-Idaho Springs area but failed to strike a "bonanza." In interims between his mining endeavors he acted as a clerk in the office of the County Clerk and Recorder in both Gilpin and Clear Creek Counties, Colorado.

Finally "busted" and disgusted, Carr arrived in Cheyenne, October 24, 1867, and went to work for S. F. Nuckolls in his large, new store on Seventeenth street. Somewhat later he was engaged as a bookkeeper by Charles D. Sherman, manager of Kountze Bros. Bank, located on the corner of Eddy and Sixteenth.

In the latter part of January 1868, Carr went to Fort Fetterman as a bookkeeper for Colonel Robert Wilson and Charles D. Cobb, post traders, and remained there until December 1869, when he returned to Cheyenne. It was during



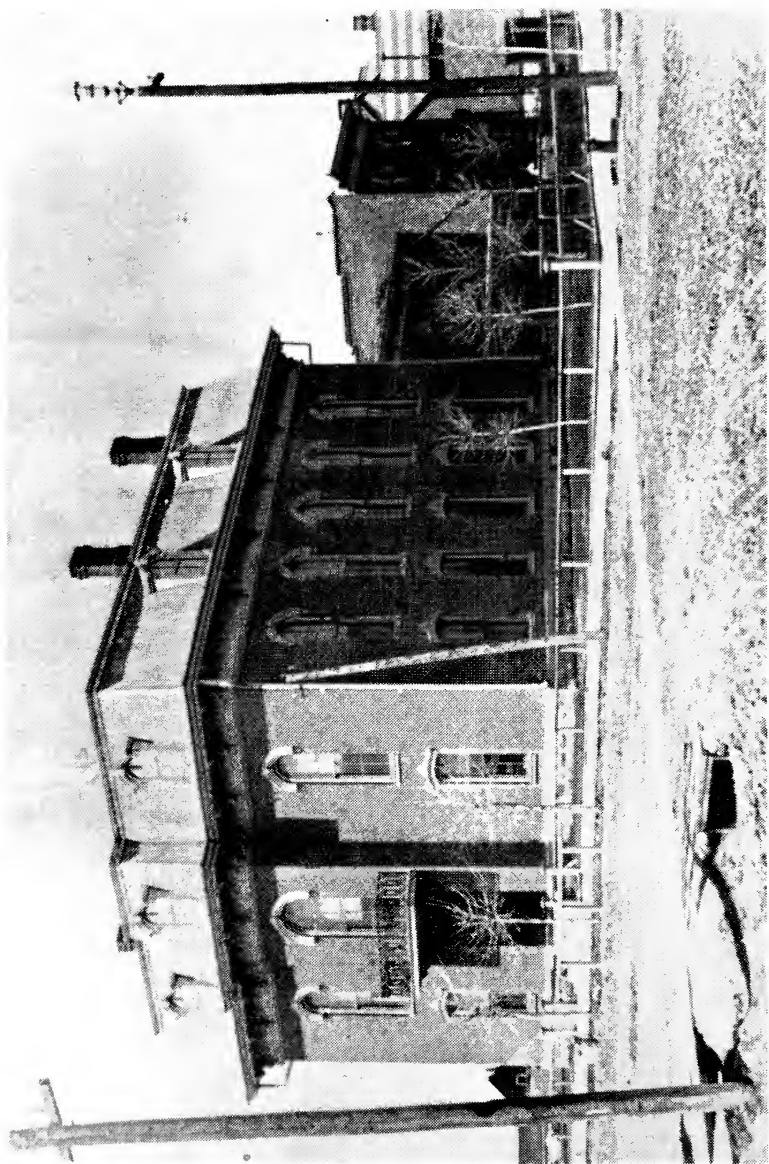
T. Jeff Carr

the fall of 1869 that Carr had an encounter with John Richards or Reshaw, a noted half-breed desperado. Reshaw rode into Fort Fetterman singing the Indian death song, and coming to the door of the sutler's store, commenced firing his Winchester. Corporal Francis Conrad, Co. E, Fourth Infantry was killed and several other citizens and soldiers barely escaped death at the drunken Reshaw's hands. Carr dashed from the store, snatched Reshaw's rifle, throwing it to the ground and attempted to take his revolvers. But Reshaw instantly recognized his danger and turning his horse rode rapidly off across the Platte where he joined a band of hostile Indians, who constantly harassed the post, at one time even threatening it with capture. One of the main purposes of Reshaw's visit to Fort Fetterman was to kill Joe Merrival, a Mexican guide and scout, employed there. Joe, being familiar with Indian ways, heard the death song long before Reshaw arrived at the camp and hid himself securely in his house near the store until Reshaw had departed.

In December 1869, Carr was glad to bid adieu to Fort Fetterman and the Sioux and depart for Cheyenne. Traveling between Fetterman and Fort Laramie was usually accomplished with the aid of a military escort for the protection of persons and mails. Carr set out with Antonie Reynolds, M. Mousseau, Tom Smith and Gliddens, several other men and two or three freight wagons.

One night while enroute the party had a narrow escape. Early that same morning Reshaw and his band of renegades had attacked a ranch on the Laramie, badly wounding two sheep herders and driving off a number of cattle. That night they camped on Cottonwood Creek. So did Carr and his party. As they sat around the fire feasting on Buoyli or a soup made by the old French pioneer Reynolds, they spoke of the danger of making targets of themselves by sitting in the fire light. At that very time they were being viewed by Reshaw and his band, who were deliberating whether or not to fire on the party. By Reshaw's own story, later told, it was decided not to molest them, since he knew most of them and had been friendly with them. It was very lucky for Carr that Reshaw was with the band or most likely he would never have reached Cheyenne.

Soon after arriving in Cheyenne Mr. Carr was elected by both branches of the legislature, then in session to act as Sheriff of Laramie County. There being a question as to whether the legislature or the governor had the power to appoint officers the question was taken before the Supreme Court, which decided that the legislature could not



Laramie County Court House and Jail on Nineteenth and Ferguson Streets, 1873.

appoint or elect officers, so that Mr. Carr could not act as sheriff and Mr. S. M. Preshaw served as sheriff until the general election in the fall of 1870.

In the general election Carr was nominated on the Democratic ticket and elected Sheriff and Collector of Taxes and Licenses for Laramie County, defeating S. M. Preshaw.

These were "rough times" for Cheyenne and surrounding country as the city and county were infested with a large number of hardened criminals of all classes and murder was common. The Sheriff had to take his life in his hands to do his duty and had to face the most desperate of criminals.

Shortly after becoming Sheriff, Carr had a narrow escape from death at the hands of a notorious desperado named Charlie Stanley, who was keeping a low "Robber's Roost" and house of ill fame on Ferguson street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets called "Golden Gate." Numerous men had been beaten nearly to death, robbed by the male and female inmates and pitched out into the alley or street to die or be cared for by whomever chanced to find them and assist them. In March 1871, a warrant was issued by Justice Howe of the District Court for the arrest of Stanley. Stanley had been defying the law and officers for a year or two and when Carr attempted to arrest him he made an attempt to escape. He and his brother, West Stanley, armed themselves and openly boasted on the streets that they would not allow Carr or anybody to take them. Carr met the Stanleys on Sixteenth street, near Ferguson. He stated his business and seeing that they were heavily armed he immediately seized Charles by the wrists to prevent him using his revolvers, and after a long and desperate struggle Deputies O'Brien and Gavin came to his assistance and the two Stanleys were overpowered and disarmed, the officers thought, as three heavy revolvers had been taken from them. Carr then proceeded up Sixteenth street toward the jail with Charles Stanley, thinking Stanley had no weapons about him. When they arrived at the corner of Sixteenth and Eddy, Stanley suddenly jumped to one side into the street and within six feet of Carr fired deliberately with a Derringer heavy caliber, which he had concealed in his coat sleeve. Carr dodged downward and forward, the ball grazing his right ear enough to bring blood and severely stunned him for a minute. Carr, in jumping toward Stanley, had seized his right hand as he fired, wrenched the Derringer out of Stanley's hand and hit him on the head with it. Stanley fell and a piece of the stock of the pistol was broken off. At the same instant Deputies N. J. O'Brien and Gavin re-

turned from jailing West Stanley and seeing the commotion immediately took Stanley in charge and carried him to the jail. He was immediately tried, convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On April 5, 1871, Sheriff Carr left with him for the penitentiary at Detroit, Michigan, where he was delivered in "good order."

The most important duty which devolved upon Sheriff Carr was the first legal execution in Laramie County which occurred April 21, 1871. The hanging was the result of a double murder committed by John Boyer, an Indian half-breed. On October 27, 1870, Boyer wantonly shot James McClusky and Henry Lowry at the "Six Mile" Ranch near Fort Laramie and was convicted by a jury at the March term of the District Court. The hanging took place in an old, vacant, government building on Sixteenth street near Eddy. It was witnessed by a large number of people inside the building as special deputies. In the streets outside the building special officers had difficulty restraining the excited people from bursting the windows and doors, in their eagerness to witness the execution. The event passed off without accident and Sheriff Carr conducted everything in a creditable manner.

During the remainder of his term Sheriff Carr transported several notorious characters to the penitentiary at Detroit, among them being Herbert F. Nourse, who had attempted wholesale murder. He was employed at Ed Creighton's Ranch on lower Horse Creek, when he killed William Parks, foreman, and M. L. Eastman, and wounded Andrew Mattice, on December 14, 1870, apparently without provocation. At his trial in July 1871, he was convicted of first degree murder but through a technicality was allowed to plead guilty in the second degree, which saved his neck. Carr likewise took to Detroit, F. Phillips for the murder of Julia Cunningham in March at Cheyenne, Frank McGovern for a Sweetwater County murder in 1871, and George Blake for an assassination at "Six Mile" Ranch in 1872. Carr delivered J. Griffin, John Taylor and James Clark to Detroit for attempted murder in 1871 and 1872.

In the fall of 1872 Jeff Carr was renominated by the Democrats and reelected Sheriff and Collector of Taxes and Licenses, defeating his opponent J. O'Brien. During this term, 1873-74, he had many criminals of all grades to deal with. Among them he took the following murderers to the penitentiary: Dan Titus, Richard Pierce, Gordon Tupper, and Phil Timmons. On November 19, 1874 he executed Toussaint Kensler by hanging him at Cheyenne in an old stone building on the corner of Bent and Twenty-first streets. Kensler had been found guilty of the assassi-

nation of Adolph Pinea at the Ecoffey and Cuny Ranch on Sibylee Creek. The execution was witnessed by many and pronounced a first class job, everything about the scaffold working like clock work. Carr adjusted the rope and knot with great care, so that the fall would break his neck and not strangle him, conducting the disagreeable duty with the coolness and skill of an old hand.

About the end of his second term as sheriff, Carr was appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency and its agent for Wyoming by D. J. Cook, Sheriff of Denver and General Superintendent of the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency. During 1875 and 1876 Carr was engaged in this detective business and invested largely in real estate in Cheyenne, building the "Carr" block on Ferguson street in the summer of 1876. Acting as detective, Carr recovered many stolen horses and other property, capturing a number of criminals, among whom was the notorious horse thief of Colorado, John Doen, alias Regal, alias Myers. On August 23, 1876 he was arrested by Detective Carr and Constable Clark Devoe in the act of selling a stolen horse to Carr and while having three horses in his possession which had been stolen near Denver. After being arrested and while walking along Eddy street, he darted into an alley, running like a deer, pursued by Devoe and Carr, who called on him to stop but he kept on running. Carr and Devoe began shooting into the air but Doen returned the shots and showed considerable fight. Finally a shot brought him down and he dropped his pistol when covered by the revolvers of both Carr and Devoe. He was badly wounded and died the same evening. The detectives did not intend killing him nor did they intend allowing him to escape, which he likely would have done, as he was a better runner than they. Superintendent Cook and many others in Colorado tendered Carr and Devoe a vote of thanks for a good deed.

In the fall of 1876 Carr was again elected Sheriff and Collector for his third term, and served during the Black Hills gold excitement and travel when the town and country were again overrun with "Bunko thieves," cut throats, road agents and the like. During these two years he handled many of the hardest class of stage robbers, murderers and horse thieves and still maintained his reputation as a "Terror to all thieves, pimps, Bunko and Three Card Monte men—they had to go." In Nebraska as far west as the Wyoming line, during this time and for several years previous, the Union Pacific railroad trains and towns along the road were overrun by Doc Baggs, Canada Bill and Three Card Monte gangs and robberies were committed

nearly every day, but not a single case occurred over the line in Laramie County or in Cheyenne. Carr handled them too roughly as Baggs, Tibbets, Sparks and Gavey could attest from experience in the Laramie County jail.

During this time many killings occurred in the county but the most noted was the murder of old Mr. J. P. Jackson and his son, March 29, 1877, at his house on Upper Horse Creek by Norman McCuaig. McCuaig was mounted and immediately rode away. He escaped and although every effort was made by Carr then and since to apprehend him he never has been caught. In July of 1877, Billy Webster alias Clark Pelton shot and killed Deputy Sheriff Adolph Cuny at "Six Mile" Ranch near Fort Laramie, while Cuny was nobly doing his duty guarding the notorious Dunc Blackburn, stage robber and murderer, whom he had just arrested. Webster and Blackburn both escaped but were later captured and Webster was sent to the penitentiary for four years—"an outrage and a shame" as he should have been hanged.

Shortly before the Cuny killing, Webster, Blackburn, Ready Bob McKinnie and others are supposed to have murdered, by shooting, John Slaughter, near Deadwood, while he was driving a stage.

Dunc Blackburn, together with Jim Wall, both road agents and stage robbers, were brought to jail in Cheyenne by Deputy Sheriff Scott Davis on November 23, 1877. Davis started from Lance Creek on the stage road near Deadwood, five days behind the robbers and followed the trail of seventeen head of horses they stole from the stage company. After a long, hard and gallant chase he overhauled them near Green River Station on the Union Pacific railroad, recovered the horses and captured them both, badly wounding Wall. Both were sentenced to the penitentiary for nine years.

During the remainder of the year 1877, Carr had numerous encounters with stage robbers, among them N. D. Flores, a Mexican banditte and Foncy Ryan, a notorious tough kid of Cheyenne.

On October 21, 1878, Billy Mansfield and Archie McLaughlin were brought in by Deputy Sheriffs Jim May and Jessie Brown and jailed for stage robberies. But since most of their crimes had been committed in Dakota, on November 2, 1878, May and Brown started with them for Deadwood by the Cheyenne and Black Hills stage. The next day, when a short distance beyond Fort Laramie, the "Vigilantes" stopped the stage and at the muzzle of guns forcibly took McLaughlin and Mansfield from the

officers and lynched both by hanging them to a cottonwood on the banks of the Laramie River.

The murderer and stage robber Al Spurs was brought in on November 20, 1878 and jailed as one of the murderers and stage robbers at Cannon Springs Station near Deadwood on September 26, in which he, Frank Bride, Charles Carey and others attacked the "Treasure Coach," killing Telegraph Operator H. O. Campbell and badly wounding Gale Hill, messenger and guard. They escaped with a large amount of gold bullion, gold dust and other valuables. Spurs, while in jail, was "worked" by Carr and confessed and gave up several hundred dollars in bills that he had sewed in his clothes and told Carr where \$5000.00 in gold bullion, his share of the robbery was buried on a farm near Lone Tree Station in Nebraska. It was soon after found by Luke Voorhees, Superintendent of the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Company. Spurs was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for life.

At the same time John Irvin was arrested and jailed. He was sent to Laramie for trial, convicted and sentenced for life for stage robbery and murder. "Dutch" Charley, notorious murderer and stage and train robber, was likewise arrested by Carr and jailed for horse stealing at Fort McKinney. However not sufficient evidence was found to hold him and he was released. Soon after he was lynched near Rawlins for train wrecking and the murder of Deputy Sheriffs Widdowfield and Vincent of Rawlins. This was the same murder in which Big Nose George and Jack Campbell were involved.

John H. Brown was brought in from Deadwood on November 25, 1878, being badly wounded from a shot received during his arrest. He, together with Charley Ross and Archie McLaughlin, were accused of robbing the stage passengers and shooting and wounding Dan Finn of Cheyenne and two other passengers, about July 1, at Whoopup Station near Deadwood on the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage road. Ross disappeared. Soon after Brown's incarceration a mysterious "red haired" girl called to see Brown, and seemed very anxious and concerned. Carr admitted her, but watched her closely and listened intently to what was whispered between them without their noticing it and heard her say she had heard from "Charley" and guessing she was Charley Ross' girl, concluded he might find out through her the whereabouts of the notorious Charley. He went to work by various methods to gain the information desired; at first she denied knowing him, but finally after forcible persuasion she unwillingly gave to Carr a letter she had received some three weeks before from Eureka,

Nevada, signed James Patrick and she also produced a photograph of Ross. Carr at once telegraphed as close a description as he could get of Ross to Sheriff Sias at Eureka, and sent him a copy of the photograph, telling Sias to watch for Patrick. In about two weeks Sias telegraphed he thought he had Ross, alias Patrick. Carr at once proceeded there, after securing extradition papers. Ross, in the meantime, claimed he was not the man, and being disguised as a miner did not look much like the picture. He tried continuously to escape and denied ever being in Wyoming until he arrived in Cheyenne and was identified by many who knew him, at which time he owned up to being Charley Ross. He was tried afterwards, being identified by Dan Finn as the man who shot him and the others at the stage robbery of Whoopup Station, and was sentenced to the penitentiary at Lincoln for a long term. He was a bold and desperate highwayman, having before this been engaged in robbery of Noble's men in Sweetwater County and the robbery of Cariboo Mines in Idaho. John Brown was tried and acquitted, being used as a witness in Ross' trial.

On June 30, 1878, Sheriff Carr arrested Ed. McGrand, a Texas bad man, at Sloan's Lake near Cheyenne, for the murder of a boy named John Wright at McCann's Ranch, near Sidney, Nebraska. He was tried and sentenced to life in the penitentiary.

During this term Carr again had a narrow escape from death and again was lucky. On December 16, 1877, when he opened the cage door for old Fritz Freemong to put in their suppers, without any suspicion or warning, Dunc Blackburn, the notorious murderer and stage robber, W. L. Baker, being held for murder, Jesse Williams, a burglar and James Collins, a soldier in jail for assault, all attacked him, seizing his two arms. Then began a life and death struggle for Carr's revolver in his rear pocket, Blackburn cursing and yelling to shoot Carr. Finally after a long struggle Williams, who was a very muscular man, got the revolver and instead of shooting Carr as they had planned, he immediately went out of the jail door through Carr's residence and out into the street to escape, much to the relief of Carr who had expected to be shot. It was fortunate for Carr that Williams got the revolver instead of Blackburn, who had intended to kill Carr before escaping. As soon as Williams ran away with the revolver Blackburn and Baker weakened. Carr soon broke them loose from him, knocking Collins down and scattering Blackburn and Baker, who all ran into their cells. Out of the large number of prisoners in jail no one escaped, Williams being caught by J. W.

Bruner, Clerk of Court and George Hawes and returned to jail. The District Court was in session at the time and the attempted break created a great excitement. There were a number of stage robbers in jail but none joined in the plot, remaining in their cells.

During this term Carr captured horse thieves and other criminals too numerous to mention, both at Cheyenne and over the surrounding states of Colorado and Nebraska. The most prominent of these captures occurred in 1877. Four mules, guns and saddles were stolen one night from the Union Pacific Railroad's stockyard on Crow Creek at Cheyenne. Carr had the thieves arrested, four of them, Ed Thoyer, Charles Pierce, Frank Wright and David Byers. Through the assistance of D. J. Cook and the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency the thieves and mules were headed off and caught near Grenada, Colorado, three hundred to four hundred miles away. On their way south the thieves had also stolen some horses at Greeley which were recovered and the robbers were held at Greeley for horse stealing.

During his three terms as sheriff and collector Carr gained a reputation as a close, good collector, honest and with his accounts in fine and intelligent form, although he handled large sums of public money.

In 1879 and 1880, Carr, as detective for the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency, arrested numerous criminals of all grades, among which we mention the arrest of Fred Bennett in June 1879, at Georgetown, Colorado, for wholesale stealing of forty head of horses from Bennett Bros., at La Porte, Colorado, a short time before and running them into Nebraska and selling them. Carr, tracing him all around, finally found him working in a mine at Georgetown, under the name of Bill Marshall and brought him to Fort Collins for trial in October where he was convicted and sent to the penitentiary at Canon City for six and one half years.

Carr and Cook deserve credit for the discovery of the mysterious murderers of old Mr. R. B. Hayward near Golden, Colorado, in 1879. Their work resulted in the arrest of J. Seminoe, among the Indians at Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota, and of Sam Woodruff near Council Bluff, Iowa, and the delivery of both at Golden City, in the fall of 1879. Both suspects were recognized by Mrs. Hayward as the slayers of her husband and were taken out of the jail by a mob of citizens on December 28, and hung. Woodruff was the same assassin who shot and killed John Freeland in Laramie County, Wyoming, December 1874.

In September 1880, Carr brought about the arrest of John Latta for stealing four mules, wagons, a harness and

over a thousand dollars in cash from Hensley. For three months after he left the country Carr trailed him all over Colorado, back and forth to Kansas and into New Mexico and back to Pueblo and finally arrested him at North Park, Colorado, recovering the mules and wagons and a portion of the money. Latta confessed to the robbery and was brought back to Cheyenne where he was tried. Through legal technicalities he was acquitted.

The next important arrest made by Detective Carr was on July 23, 1880, at Cheyenne. He had received a telegraphic description of Fred Hopt, alias Welcome, who had been traced eastward and Carr was able to identify him at the Union Pacific Depot, arrest him and return him to Utah, where he was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death. Hopt was accused of the murder of John Turner, a son of John W. Turner, sheriff at Provo City, Utah, and deputy U. S. marshal for Utah, near Park City. He stole two teams and wagons and robbing the body attempted to burn it up.

Carr was again nominated for sheriff by the Democratic Committee in the fall of 1880, for a fourth term but was defeated by his Republican opponent, S. R. Sharpless, through a bolt in the Democratic party. In 1881, February 3, Carr was appointed City Marshal and City Collector and continued in this position until July 6, 1883, when he resigned. During this term he distinguished himself by arresting many horse thieves and burglars and maintaining order in the city and ridding the town of tramps, pimps, thieves and fully sustained his past reputation as a "terror to evil doers of all classes." He earned praise from the city for his great efficiency as a collector of taxes and licenses due the city, having a very diminutive delinquent list each year and collecting thousands of dollars of past and previous years delinquent taxes for the city, which should have been collected by his predecessors in office. He still represents the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency at Cheyenne, as assistant superintendent, and is on the lookout for criminals who may chance to come his way and WOE BE UNTO ANY he may get hold of.

A man is entitled to vote and hold office wherever he has his washing done, regardless of where his wife lives, according to a Uinta County court decision of the early days. The decision was given in a suit contesting the election of William Sloan as county commissioner. It was charged that Sloan was not a legal resident of Wyoming because his wife lived in Salt Lake City.

Preservation of Wyoming Historical Relics

Wyoming should make provision for an historical building and adequate appropriations to maintain a proper museum. Every year we are losing many valuable historical pieces and collections either through sale or by donation to out-of-state organizations. The persons who donate their collections to out-of-state museums do so because they believe that better facilities are available for the care and preservation of their relics. All members of the Wyoming State Historical Department staff are making an earnest effort to care for new acquisitions in the best possible manner. Each item is accessioned under the donor's name and a card is marked showing the exact location of the item in the museum. If space is not available to display the particular item, it is carefully marked, wrapped, boxed, and stored in a fireproof vault. When a new building is erected these relics can then be shown. Diaries, personal papers, maps, journals, and pamphlets are similarly treated, but are kept readily available for the use of research workers.

The preservation of the relics which so graphically portray our beginnings in Wyoming is an important and necessary function of our state. It is important because it is primarily through these means that future generations can see and understand the heritage that is theirs. It is impossible to envision the future without knowing and studying the past. The state museum and its displays are important in the teaching of history. By viewing exhibits, students and visitors learn of Wyoming historical events and progress made from pioneer days to the present. Here can be seen the wagons, yokes, saddles, bits, spurs, and trappings that their forefathers used in their trek westward; pictures, diorama and even the actual items which were used by the trappers and traders in their wild and lonely life in the mountains. From a graphic display of Indian art and culture, they learn far more of the Indian way of life than mere words in a text book can tell.

If all persons interested in saving these valuable historic pieces, for coming generations, will work and support the bill for a new historical building, we will then have adequate facilities to care for these priceless items. Please give your relics of early Wyoming to **YOUR** state museum!



Wyoming State Museum

ACCESSIONS

to the

Wyoming Historical Department

November 1, 1947 to May 14, 1948.

Beck, Mrs. George T., Cody, Wyoming: Collection of beautifully designed clothing, 1865-1900. October 1947.

Emerson, Dr. Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Collection of old pictures and china; a compass used by Elam S. Emerson on Texas cattle trails to Nebraska; World War I collection of medical supplies. October 1947.

Meyers, Ed, Seattle, Washington: Collection of books, badges, confederate money, Godey's Lady's book, a dress of the Civil War period, Orville Wright letter, American flag with 13 stars, a book whittled from wood, spoons, rocks. November 1947.

Hogle, Claron, Duluth, Minnesota: Three pieces of Lake Superior agate. December 1947.

Russell, I. E., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Three maps of Wyoming. January 1948.

Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Pictures of Matthew and John Sloan, Thomas, Frank and Almeda Castle, Mary Jane and Edwin J. Smalley. January 1948.

Cheyenne Frontier Committee, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Large collection of Indian garments. January 1948.

Richardson, Warren and Emile, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Three Egyptian mummy pieces and bone from the prison cell of Socrates. January 1948.

McGrath, Mary A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Two Yellowstone Park booklets, Cody Stampede token, Thermopolis souvenir. March 1948.

Barthelemy, Mrs. R. E., Hollywood, Florida: Three photographs of early graves at Rock Springs and the Overland crossing of Platte in Carbon County. January 1948.

Fullerton, Ellen Miller, Los Angeles, Calif.: Cheyenne Opera House program, 1885. February 1948.

Siegel, Walt, Green River, Wyoming: Picture of Tom Horn. February 1948.

Snyder, Art, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Mess bell from Camp Carlin. March 1948.

Richardson, Clarence, Casper, Wyoming: Indian moccasins and pouch. April 1948.

Richardson, Laura and Valera, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Souvenir convention and lodge badges, Indian leggings, ladies fan. April 1948.

Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Photographs of Col. E. A. Slack, first Frontier Days Committee, first Frontier show, Alert hose team; three pair of moccasins, two beaded pouches, 1898 Frontier souvenir. April 1948.

O'Mahoney, Sen. J. C., Washington, D. C.: Replica of original working patent model of McCormick Reaper. April 1948.

Trosper, Clayton A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Mining claim found in baking powder tin in Encampment mining area, old dictionary. March 1948.

Knollenberg, Walter, Lander, Wyoming: Old fashioned ice scraper. March 1948.

Governor's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Invitation to Pres. Calvin Coolidge to attend Cheyenne Frontier Days. March 1948.

Moore, Mrs. Frank L., East Lansing, Michigan: Collection of manuscripts, letters, diaries, and newspaper clippings pertaining to the Rev. Frank L. Moore's activities in Wyoming on behalf of the Congregational Church. April 1948.

Smith, John J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Hand made silver inlaid bit. April 1948.

Andersen, Mrs. Ida B., Newcastle, Wyoming: Three Spanish American jackets. April 1948.

Guy, Mrs. Ben, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Baby dresses, child's cup and doll, letters and drawing books, programs, picture folder of the Holy Child Academy, World War I newspapers, copy of the Tokyo "Yank." May 1948.

John Newell Estate, Buffalo, Wyoming: Framed picture of Camp W. A. Richards. May 1948.

Books—Purchased

Sandoz, Mari, *The Tom-Walker*. Dial Press, New York, 1947. Price \$2.00.

Russell, Charles M., *Forty pen and ink drawings*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.

MacFall, Russell P., *Gem hunter's guide*. Science and Mechanic's Publishing Co., Chicago, 1946. Price \$.90.

Winther, Oscar Osburn, *Via western express and stagecoach*. Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford, Cal., 1945. Price \$2.70.

Carrighar, Sally, *One day at Teton Marsh*. Knopf, New York, 1947. Price \$2.34.

Preston, Richard J., Jr., *Rocky Mountain trees*. Iowa State College Press, Ames, 1947. Price \$2.25.

Monaghan, Jay, *The Overland Trail*. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1947. Price \$2.50.

Linford, Velma, *Wyoming: Frontier state*. Old West, Denver, 1947. Price \$3.38.

McCreight, M. I., *Firewater and forked tongues*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.

- DeVoto, Bernard, *Across the wide Missouri*. Houghton, New York, 1947. Price \$6.67.
- Child, Andrew, *Overland Route to California*. Kovach, Los Angeles, 1946. Price \$2.00.
- Bakeless, John, *Lewis and Clark, partners in discovery*. Morrow, New York, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Wade, Mason, *Journal of Francis Parkman*. Harper, New York, 1947. 2v. Price \$6.67.
- Paden, Irene D., *Wake of the prairie schooner*. Macmillan, New York, 1945. Price \$2.00.
- Bangs, Francis Hyde, *John Kendrick Bangs*. Knopf, New York, 1941. Price \$.80.
- McCaleb, Walter F., *The Conquest of the West*. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1947. Price \$2.50.
- Historical Committee of the Robber's Roost Historical Society, *Pioneering on the Cheyenne River*. Lusk Herald, Lusk, Wyo., 1947. Price \$1.25.
- Allen, Albert H., *Dakota Inprints, 1858-1889*. Bowker, New York, 1947. Price \$5.85.
- Powers, Alfred, *Poems of the Covered Wagons*. Pacific Publishing House, Portland. 1947. Price \$2.00.
- Robb, Harry, *Poddy, the Story of a Rangeland Orphan*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.
- The Westerners Brand Book, 1945-46*. Chicago, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- The Westerners Brand Book, 1946*. Denver, 1947. Price \$5.50.
- Schmitt, Martin F., *General George Crook, His Autobiography*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1946. Price \$2.00.

Books—Gifts

- Union Presbyterian Church, a history, 1871-1946*. Donated by Ella G. Dunn, Evanston, Wyoming.
- Hunt, Frazier, *The long trail from Texas*. Doubleday, New York, 1940. Donated by Stella Scanlan.
- House of Representatives, 33d Congress, 2d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 91. Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-54. Nicholson, Washington, D. C., 1855. Donated by Arthur W. Calverley.
- Franklin, John Hope, *The Diary of James T. Ayers*. Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1947. Donated by Illinois State Historical Society.
- Smith, Rev. Franklin C., *In Memoriam Edwin Major Smith*. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1947. Donated by Rev. Franklin C. Smith.
- A Record of the Deeds, Actions and Experiences of the Fifty-Fourth United States Naval Construction Battalion in North Africa*. Donated by the Battalion.

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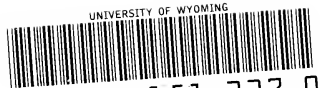
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